

the nature of the beast



PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE & THE STATE



FASCISM IN CANADA: THE EARLY YEARS



THE PAST IS OUR MASTER?

THE NATURE OF THE BEAST

ANTIFA FORUM number 3 – 1998

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JOHN HEARTFIELD, OCTOBER 1932

"The meaning of the Hitlerian salute. The little man asks for large gifts; his motto: 'I've got millions backing me.'"

John Heartfield was a German artist and socialist. More info on Heartfield and his work can be found on these sites:

burn.ucsd.edu/heart.htm
www.e-media.com/heartfield

EDITORIAL

This edition of AF begins a much-needed exploration into the nature of fascism, focusing on the relationship it maintains with the state. The issues are being tackled, not in an effort to set up a weekend debating club, but in order to help establish battlefield positions against the prevailing liberalism that hinders the growth of a militant anti-fascist movement on this continent. The liberal anti-racist stance is one that supports state legislation and action to quash the activities of the fascists. Ultimately, this 'stance' translates into the collaboration between anti-fascism and elements of the state. That spells disaster for the likes of us.

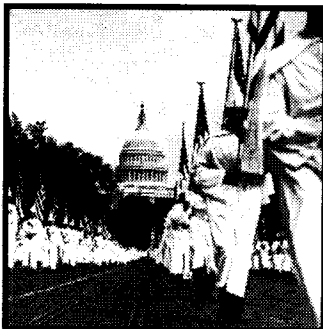
Fascism is a tool in the hands of the ruling classes, used by the ruling classes when they feel threatened by an organized left. Today, while certain elements on the extreme-right hype themselves up with anti-government tough-talk, they are in fact only opposed to certain elements of a neo-liberal government. The rest of it, they would fully support and viciously uphold in their traditional fashion. And while the far-right aims to occupy these battlefield positions, it is the job of anti-fascists to see that they don't.

Within the anti-fascist movement on this continent, there has recently been some controversy over the issue of collaboration with the state and police – both physically and ideologically. Instead of being identified with militant anti-fascism, catering to the status quo only serves to drive away elements that are genuinely seeking change. More often than not, these sections of society are driven into the arms of the far-right. This is the broader problem we face in North America.

For those at the sharp end of the argument, there is no debate whatsoever. There is no middle ground when it comes to dealing with the state to 'further' the cause of anti-fascism. Many anti-fascists have, in the past, looked to dealing with the police and their allies as a way of gaining information on the far-right in their neighbourhoods, but this info comes with a high pricetag. The police have shown that they are only interested in exchanging info on the far-right for info on other anti-fascists and local leftist groups, while their neo-liberal supporters have a consistent history of attacking any anti-fascist initiatives that promote a direct, independent method of dealing with fascists (Searchlight's attacks on British leftists, and the ADL of the B'Nai Brith spying on anti-fascist groups are two more recent examples).

Sooner or later, the real meaning of "some of us support police intervention" will be revealed to mean either "we can't defend our initiatives and we've never had the need to" or "the police defend the status quo and we're the status quo."

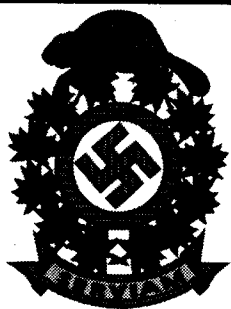
The ongoing 'mainstreaming' of far-right and fascist politics that we see intensifying worldwide will be the ultimate acid test for those who genuinely want to see a successful challenge to the establishment only coming from the left. If the militant positions are abandoned, they won't be left to stagnate... the far-right will flourish in them.



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The 'Public-Private Partnership' in Political Repression

Mainstream media, politicians and liberal watchdogs point to the Oklahoma City bombing and charge the far-right with "waging war against the government." To those acquainted with fascism's role in the state's secret war against dissent, these allegations are a pretext justifying collaboration with repressive law enforcement agencies on grounds of "fighting the right." Ironically enough (though we're not laughing), the antecedents of today's new generation of storm-troopers were empowered by the FBI and police red squads to attack and neutralize leftist targets. This article explores reality's dark edge where the thin-blue-line separating paramilitary violence and state terror disappears.



FASCISM IN CANADA pg. 13

The Early Years

During the rise to power of fascism in Europe, various countries bore movements of support for the campaigns of Mussolini and Hitler. Canada was no exception. This overview of fascist and anti-fascist history in pre-war Canada covers some important ground on the nature of fascism and the strategies used to counter its manoeuvres and fight it.



THE PAST IS OUR MASTER? pg. 18

A Brief History of the Far-Right in Quebec

A sketch of the ideas, events, organizations and people that have shaped the French Canadian far-right since the nineteen thirties.

"Racism and fascism will remain useful props for the bourgeoisie as long as there are oppressed and oppressors. The antidote to racist and fascist tendencies is not to be found in independence, nor in confederation, but rather in uncompromising anti-racism and anti-fascism, without any exceptions made."



THE CATHOLIC FAR-RIGHT pg. 38

an accompanying article to "The Past Is Our Master?"

A look at the historical and current relationship between Quebec's far-rightists and the Catholic Church.

"The Judeo-Masonic boogey was now replaced by a Satanic elite called the Illuminati, and it was believed that a battle to save the world was to be waged by faithful Catholics under the leadership of Jesus and his mother Mary."



INTERNATIONAL MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST NETWORK pg. 42

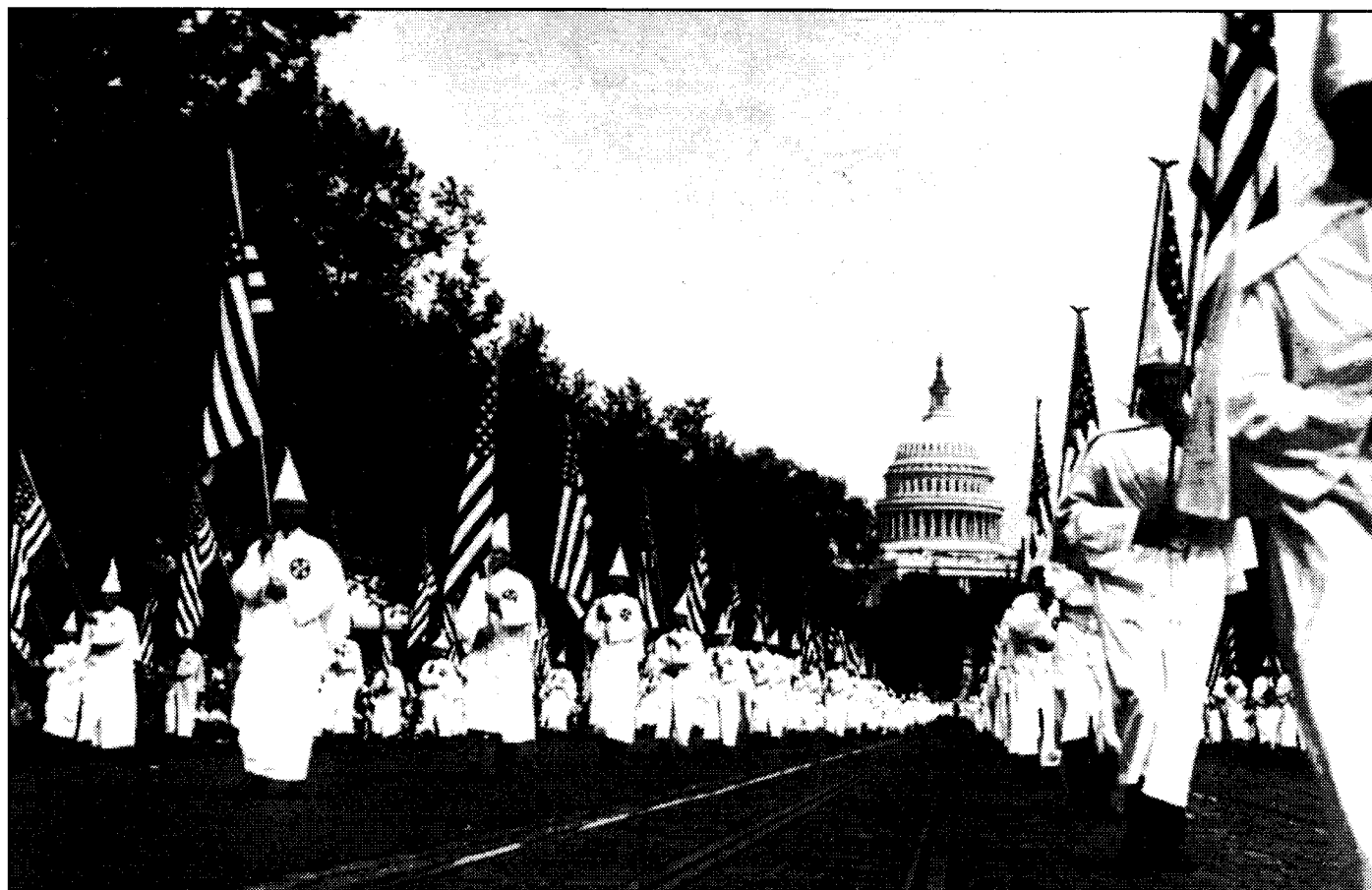
networking/resource section

The I.M.A.F.N. was officially launched in April, 1998. This is the launch statement and network manifesto/founding statement.

PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE & THE STATE

*The 'Public-Private Partnership'
in Political Repression*

by Tom Burghardt
editor, AFIB



Mainstream media, politicians and liberal "watchdogs" point to the Oklahoma City bombing and charge the far-right with "waging war against the government." To those acquainted with fascism's role in the state's secret war against dissent, these allegations are a pretext justifying collaboration with repressive "law enforcement" agencies on grounds of "fighting the right." Ironically enough (though we're not laughing), the antecedents of today's new generation of storm-troopers were empowered by the FBI and police red squads to attack and "neutralize" leftist targets. This article explores reality's dark edge where the "thin-blue-line" separating paramilitary violence and state terror disappears.

THE TIES THAT BIND

Political repression is one of the more durable legacies of America's settler-colonialist heritage. The intrinsic weakness of indigenous revolutionary movements has meant that endeavors to smash the left — through government crack-downs, "off-the-shelf" paramilitary attacks, or both in tandem — have strengthened state agencies charged with an open-ended countersubversive mission. Across the decades collaborative ventures among right-wingers, fascists, religious fundamentalists and cops reflect the nativist values of those tasked to "expose, disrupt,

misdirect, discredit and neutralize" groups fighting for social change.¹

During the thirties European fascism arose as a reactionary counter-attack against an insurgent workers movement. In the US however, nativist ideologies rooted in white supremacy and ultra-nationalism anticipated fascism's general development, particularly where genocidal racism was concerned.² But American racists and anti-Semites were hardly passive spectators during fascism's formative years. Viewed as a "populist" defender of white privilege and the patriarchal order, the

1. Racism, genocide, doctrines of settler-colonial conquest, anti-immigrant xenophobia and anti-radicalism in general is the bedrock on which the "American dream" has been built. A precursor and living laboratory for European fascism, North American nativist movements from the "Know Nothings" of the 1850s to Patriot militias today, share a common vision of an "American Eden" imperiled by alien peoples and ideologies; for an excellent overview of nativism and its influences see: David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1988.

2. For background on the nativist origins of the FBI, see: Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1980, pp. 30-51; hereafter Donner 1980.

3. The nefarious connections between practitioners of Nazi "racial hygiene" and American eugenics are little known. US "advances" in the field before 1930 were studied and admired by those who became the architects of the Holocaust. For background on American nativist-Nazi links see: Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism and German National Socialism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

Hitler regime evoked an enthusiastic response on both sides of the Atlantic, especially among those who feared the tide of labor militancy sweeping the US. While the centrist "mainstream" cautiously applauded the destruction of the workers movement in Germany, Italy and Spain, home-grown fascist groups such as the Christian Front and Silver Legion hoped to do likewise – and enjoyed a cozy relationship with corporate leaders, clerics, politicians and police.⁴

As the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) stepped-up attacks on labor and the left, the Bureau relied on private networks of spies and right-wingers such as Gerald L.K. Smith, to supplement formidable public resources already at their disposal. Publisher of the racist journal, *The Cross and the Flag*, Smith was a pivotal figure in the history of American fascism. Though only one among hundreds of professional red-hunters, during this phase of a career that spanned four decades, Smith offered his services to the Ford Motor Company and compiled "The Ford Company Red File" for Henry Ford – the only American to earn favorable mention in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.⁵



Henry Ford receiving the Grand Cross of the German Eagle in 1938

Despite the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939, FBI operations were geared towards neutralizing leftist groups, not those with Nazi sympathies. As payback for leading militant strikes in Minneapolis that paved the way for the explosive growth of the Teamsters Union, the 1941 Smith Act trial and imprisonment of Socialist Workers Party leaders for "sedition," was the opening salvo in a "nationwide drive against dangerous radicals and communists," according to acting US Attorney General Francis Biddle.⁶ The advent of the Cold War and hysterical McCarthyism meant that the temporary "front against fascism" was history. It was "business as usual" again as the US geared-up for global confrontation with the Soviet Union, and Nazi veterans fresh from the

killing fields were hired to handle the dirty work.⁷ If sweeping purges of suspected "reds" and the criminalization of a score of left-wing groups wasn't proof positive of US commitments to "pluralism and democracy," then the 1953 execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on fabricated spy charges, was grim testament to the means available the "public-private partnership."

In the US, *modern* political repression with its emphasis on aggressive intelligence, open-ended investigation, electronic surveillance, extensive deployment of informants and provocateurs, should be seen for what it is: a means to regiment civil society, place it on a permanent war footing, "manufacturing consent" through fear – under the guise of national security and human rights. While the development of new intrusive police technologies widened the dragnet and rationalized the proverbial velvet fist, at the end of the day America's war on dissent is driven by the implacable logic of "internal security," an interesting euphemism coined by Pentagon counterinsurgency specialists.⁸

In practical terms we confront three distinct, though overlapping manifestations of repression today: police brutality randomly directed by local cops at communities of color, oppressed nationalities and the working classes; right-wing vigilantism perpetrated by individuals and organizations typically aimed at specific oppressed communities; and finally, concentrated attacks by elite national police agencies against official enemies. Given the symbiotic nature of these separate though integral aspects of systemic political violence, it is a futile gesture for anti-racists to struggle against one form of repression while neglecting the rest.⁹

During the sixties and seventies, the multitude of projects implemented by the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and US Army intelligence in conjunction with local police red squads, were complemented by private instrumentalities: sympathetic media "assets," corporate security, as well as a legion of patriotic organizations, self-appointed vigilante guardians and paramilitary gangs in the area that comprise the activist base of the far-right. One need only glance at the role played by ultra-rightist death squads in Colombia, Mexico or Turkey today to see the potential use for their domestic analogues.¹⁰

7. For CIA operations in Europe and the US alliance with Nazi war criminals and reconstituted fascist networks see: Henrik Kruger, *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence & International Fascism*, South End Press, Boston, 1980; Stuart Christie, Stefano Delle Chiaie: *Portrait of a Black Terrorist*, Anarchy Magazine/Refract Publications, London, 1984; Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, New York, 1988; William Blum, *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1995, pp: 27-39, 104-108, 119-122, 215-221; Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1997.

8. "Internal security" can be defined as the transformation of a country's military capabilities from strategic defense against foreign invasion to a comprehensive set of strategies and tactics designed to undercut and destroy radical movements seeking redress of economic, political and social inequalities. In the US, Pentagon counterinsurgency doctrine in Third World military theaters blended with nativist countersubversive practice as refined by the FBI, to produce COINTELPRO and similar programs. For a comprehensive analysis of US military doctrine see: Michael McClintock, *Instruments of Statecraft: U.S. Guerrilla Warfare, Counter-Insurgency, Counter-Terrorism, 1940-1990*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1992, particularly pp. 157-158, 170-175, 417-420 and, Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, Verso, London, 1991, and Chomsky's "Introduction" to Blackstock, op. cit.

9. Ken Lawrence, "The New State Repression," *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Washington, D.C., Number 24, Summer 1985.

10. For the relationship between Turkish neo-Nazis, right-wing paramilitaries, international narco-terrorist networks, the CIA and the Turkish military see: Ertugrul Kurkcu, "Trapped in a Web of Covert Killers," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., Number 61, Summer 1997.

4. Three illuminating studies of American corporate support for Nazism before and during World War II can be found in: Charles Higham, *Trading with the Enemy*, Delacorte Press, New York, 1983 and by the same author, *American Swastika*, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1985; Christopher Simpson, *The Splendid Blond Beast: Money, Law, and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1995.

5. James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, Second Edition, Thunder's Mouth Press, New York, 1995, pp. 62-64, p. 68.

6. For background on FBI attacks on the SWP see: Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1988; Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States*, South End Press, Boston, 1990; Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America, 1870 to the Present*, Schenckman Publishing Co./Two Continents Publishing Group, Ltd., Cambridge/London, 1978.

In the present frame the collapse of the Soviet Union signalled an abrupt end to the Cold War and the termination of a decades-long anti-communist consensus in the US.¹¹ Rancorous clashes between the governing "center" and the nativist "periphery" on a range of policy issues such as NAFTA, affirmative action, queer rights, immigration and

far-right violence is tolerated when it serves "system-supportive" goals of ruling-class elites... women's reproductive freedom, underlie the right-wing's contradictory nature and its relationship to the dominant system as a whole. Progressive

researcher Sara Diamond describe these as a series of "mixed stances towards prevailing power structures": *system supportive* on the one hand, and *oppositional* on the other. In practice, this means that the far-right is "system-supportive" when the state defends "free market" capitalism, promotes US military-economic hegemony abroad while working to preserve traditional morality and status for native-born white males at home. The right-wing's "oppositional" character is revealed through its historic pattern of resistance to a downward redistribution of wealth, moves towards racial and gender equality or the extension of civil liberties to traditionally subordinated groups.¹²

The predatory social Darwinism championed by the US right reflect nativist fears of "globalism" and a boundless appetite for repressive legislation, particularly when the targets are oppressed national and racial communities treated as prison-bound "surplus populations." The end of the Cold War rather than weakening reactionary nationalist and racist trends in the US has resurrected *fascism* as a solution to the problems plaguing social and economic organization in the "New World Order." This is strikingly evident in Europe where high unemployment and decades of "Communist" and "Socialist" collaboration with the state has helped jump-start formidable neofascist electoral machines such as Jean Marie Le Pen's National Front or Jorg Haider's Austrian Freedom Party. By posing as an "alternative" to capitalist globalization and the homogenization of social life, European fascism, with hardly a swastika or jackboot in sight, has reinvented itself and is well on the road to becoming a "mainstream" force to be reckoned with. These lessons haven't been lost on their American cheerleaders, and they can't be ignored by militant anti-fascists.¹³

There can be no question that right-wing movements, ideas and policies dominate political life in North America; this continues a trend well-underway since the mid-seventies. In no small part today's political hegemony by the right resulted from a decision by conservative corporate leaders to finance and build "counter-institutions," in effect, creating a coherent set of principles, and targets, for "New Right" Christian fundamentalists and hard-line anticommunists. As the fallout continues, forces that view the Republican party with deep suspicion if not outright hostility, such as the militant fringe of the antiabortion Christian Right, Patriot militias and neo-Nazi racial nationalists want the conservative roll-back to go even further. Emboldened by "mainstream" attacks on the few significant victories that remain from past struggles,

these forces have entered the fray on their own terms. That they've spawned a new cycle of nativist scapegoating and violence in the process should surprise no one.¹⁴

But despite a significant upsurge of rightist-inspired atrocities such as the Oklahoma City bombing, covert terrorism against abortion providers and a wave of more than 200 Black church burnings, for oppressed communities the primary source for reactionary violence aren't Nazi boot-boys but traditional enforcers of old-fashioned American "justice" – the boys (and girls) in blue. That some segments of the conservative "left" urge an alliance with state forces to "fight the radical right" (or acquiesce when others do so) can only compromise and discredit anti-fascism in the eyes of those brutalized by the police and open ourselves to intense surveillance and targeting when the battle inevitably heats up.¹⁵

While still largely isolated from a mass base, ideological fascists hope to overcome their limited appeal by (temporarily) opposing state repression through "populist" demagoguery. Fascism's growth potential lies however, in the direction of tapping into the racist mainstream, not opposing it. But building bridges to corporate authoritarianism while managing to keep the fires burning for hard-core nationalists' will be no easy task amongst fractious milieus' **...and repressed when the interests and institutions created to preserve their rule come under attack**

given to sectarianism and personal rivalries. So instead of street confrontations the fascists are swimming like fish through technology-driven nativist seas. Via short-wave radio, cable access television and the internet, the fascists are slowly and patiently preparing the ground for the future. These are historical and practical lessons that David Duke and Patrick Buchanan are applying to win today's battle for "hearts and minds." Our success in stopping them depends on building sustainable anti-fascist initiatives for the long-haul.

Oscillating between support and opposition to the social order created by the dominant class, the far-right's pivotal position as traditional "guardian" is underscored by its role in implementing repression against those who challenge class, gender and racial privileges. For the state however, fascism is only useful as an instrument for executing policy "by other means" when its fury is properly calibrated for maximum effect. In this light, the premise explored below is that far-right violence is *tolerated* when it serves "system-supportive" goals of ruling class elites, and *repressed* when the interests and institutions created to preserve their rule come under attack.

COINTELPRO AND BEYOND

In the US the goal of political intelligence is not the accumulation of evidence of illegal activity; indeed, political intelligence has very little to do with "law enforcement." Employing patently illegal means in a quest to accumulate information useful for "neutralizing" troublesome opponents, political intelligence requires a vast marshalling of state

11. For an overview of emerging tensions on the right since the end of the Cold War see: Sara Diamond, "Rumble on the Right," *Z Magazine*, Boston, December 1990.

12. Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*, The Guilford Press, New York, 1995, pp. 1-7, 257-312.

13. Anti-Fascist Action, "One Step Beyond," *Fighting Talk*, London, Issue 16, March 1997, pp. 12-14.

14. Jaxon Van Derbeken, Manny Fernandez, "Hate Crimes Up 17 Percent, Critics Say Figures Low, Events Go Unreported," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Thursday, January 21, 1998, p. A21

15. For a contemporary look at state collaboration with fascists, racist and anticommunists in Canada see: Richard Cleroux, "Canadian Intelligence Service (CSIS) Abets Neo-Nazis," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., Winter 1994-95, Number 51, and "The Canadian State and the Extreme Right," *Antifa Forum*, Toronto, 1996, Number 1

resources, and complicity from all three branches of federal government as warranty for "efficient" operations with no questions asked. That the system functions openly within an institutional setting rooted in the trappings of formal public democracy and the realities of private economic power, is confirmation of a basic principle: state institutions are "special bodies of armed men" charged to defend "the fundamental order of things." As such, political intelligence is a striking method (one among many) for waging covert war on the domestic front; the analogue to US counterinsurgency operations abroad.¹⁶

The advent of computer technology has meant that the "sources and methods" of political intelligence have become more effective and intrusive over time. However, the underlying premise fueling the expansion of the surveillance state has remained constant for more than half a century, requiring little if any justification for abusive procedures that flagrantly violate human rights. Since dissident activism, "social deviance" or opposition to official policy is always the product of a conspiratorial revolutionary milieu committed to violence, "active measures" – the multitude of break-ins, file thefts, frame-ups, beatings, "dirty tricks" and murders either directly inaugurated or provoked by the FBI – are characterized as purely "defensive" moves. "Regrettable errors" by "overzealous subordinates" are not the result of senior management decisions according to Bureau officials. On the contrary, FBI "excesses" in the field are engendered by the implacable nature of foes pledged to the Nation's destruction. Justifying state criminality on grounds of moral certitude, the Bureau's original mandate as a nativist bulwark pledged to stamp out "un-Americanism" shines through again and again. And if powerful economic interests are served in the process, then all the better.

Concrete evidence of the scope of domestic countersubversive operations surfaced in March 1971 when the "Citizens Committee to Investigate the FBI" broke into the Bureau's Media, Pennsylvania office, liberating hundreds of sensitive documents. The release of these secret files to the press caused a scandal and a new acronym appeared describing FBI covert political warfare: COINTELPRO or Counter-Intelligence Program. Between 1956 and 1971 when the program was formally "terminated," hundreds of left-wing, civil rights, anti-war, Black nationalist and labor groups, as well as hundreds of thousands of Americans were targets of this sinister campaign.¹⁷ Dozens of activists, primarily Black, Latino and Native American revolutionaries were murdered as a result of FBI "special ops," the domestic counterpart to CIA/NATO "stay-behind" operations in Europe.¹⁸ More than a hundred political prisoners continue to rot in American prisons, many of whom have been incarcerated for nearly three decades, the victims of vicious, premeditated frame-ups.

In 1975, the Senate Intelligence Committee discovered that "Under COINTELPRO certain techniques the Bureau had used against hostile foreign agents were adopted for use against perceived domestic threats to the established political and social order."¹⁹ A total of 2,370 officially

16. For an analysis of US counterinsurgency doctrine and its evolution from American extermination campaigns in the Philippines to the incorporation of Nazi Wehrmacht "anti-partisan warfare" strategies and contemporary "low-intensity warfare" see: Michael McClintock, 1992, op. cit.; for a discussion of "community policing" and its counterinsurgency origins see: Mitzi Waltz, "Policing Activists: Think Global, Spy Local," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., Number 61, Summer 1997

17. Donner 1980, pp: 177-240

18. Arthur E. Rowse, "Gladio: The Secret U.S. War to Subvert Italian Democracy," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., No. 49, Summer 1994

19. Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*, South End Press, Boston, 1989, p. 11

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO: Mr. E. C. Sullivan
FROM: Mr. F. J. Baumgardner
SUBJECT: HOODWINK
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

DATE: October 4, 1966
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

PURPOSE:
The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend a long-range counterintelligence program designed to provoke a dispute between the Communist Party, USA, and La Cosa Nostra under the code name of Hoodwink.

OBJECTIVES:
A dispute between the Communist Party, USA, and La Cosa Nostra would cause disruption of both groups by having each expend their energies, time, and money attacking the other. This would help neutralize the activities of both groups which are detrimental to this country.

BACKGROUND:
La Cosa Nostra has no sympathy for the communists. The Communist Party, USA, and La Cosa Nostra come in contact with each other in the labor field where hoodlums operate businesses under "sweatshop" conditions. By making it appear that the Party is attacking hoodlum labor practices, over a period of time we could provoke a bitter dispute between the two organizations.

The New York Office has recommended a specific technique to initiate this program. This technique consists of anonymously forwarding one leaflet to a local La Cosa Nostra leader attacking the labor practices of one of his enterprises. The leaflet would ostensibly be published by a local Party unit. A note with the leaflet would give the impression that it has received wide circulation.

Enclosure - 10-6-66
1 - Special Investigative (Route through for review)
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BY LETTER 12-4-71

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1 OCT 1966

example of COINTELPRO at work

approved COINTELPRO actions were admitted by top Bureau executives in testimony before the Church Committee; thousands more have subsequently come to light, including those in operation today.²⁰ But by the time Congressional hearings were finally held in the wake of Nixon-era Watergate scandals, the vibrant movements of the sixties and seventies were in full retreat; the result of FBI "success" in derailing the emergence of a multi-racial radical left.

COINTELPROs were divided into seven separate programs: "Communist Party USA"; "SWP Disruption Program"; "Black Nationalist Hate Groups"; "Groups Seeking Independence for Puerto Rico"; "Border Coverage Program"; "New Left"; and "White Hate Groups." And four main channels for FBI "black ops" have emerged over the years: infiltration, psychological warfare, harassment through the legal system, extrajudicial force and violence. While the targets may change to fit the policy issue, the ideological requirements dictating the scope and direction taken by aggressive political intelligence are immutable; deviation from doctrinal norms beyond very narrow limits are not tolerated.²¹

THE 'PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP' IN ACTION

The discussion below is confined to the more egregious examples of domestic attacks on the radical movements of the sixties and seventies.

20. For documentation of FBI attacks on the left after COINTELPRO was formally "abolished" see: Ross Gelbspan, *Break-ins, Death Threats and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement*, South End Press, Boston, 1991; Ward Churchill, "The FBI Targets Judi Bari," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., Number 47, Winter 1993-1994

21. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, South End Press, Boston, 1990 and, same authors, op. cit., *The COINTELPRO Papers*

The reason for this is simple: the documentary record authenticating widespread collusion among repressive state agencies and far-right groups is more complete; therefore, it provides us an opportunity to examine the organizational principles undergirding the political intelligence system as a whole. Future issues of *Antifa Forum* will explore the role played by neofascism to advance US geo-political goals, particularly during the 1980s in Central and South America.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan and right-wing paramilitarism in general, pose critical questions for the state: what is the function of avowedly white supremacist groups with a history of racist terror in a society claiming "multiculturalism" and "democracy" as core values? How does a "law enforcement" agency such as the FBI deal with private armies challenging the state's legal monopoly of violence? Throughout its history, the Klan has had a contradictory relationship with the national government: as a defender of white privilege and the patriarchal status quo and as an implicit threat, however provisional, to federal power. Depending on political conditions in society as a whole, vigilante terror can be supplemental to official violence, or kept on the proverbial short-leash.²² As a "system supportive" movement in the field of terror against official enemies the Klan enjoys wide latitude. But when it moves into an "oppositional" mode and attacks key institutions of national power or vital infrastructure, Klan paramilitarism but not its overt white supremacist ideology, is treated as an imminent threat to social order, partially suppressed though never entirely eliminated. These roles are not mutually exclusive. As anti-racist researcher Michael Novick warns: "The KKK and its successor and fraternal organizations are deeply rooted in the actual white supremacist power relations of US society. They exist as a supplement to the armed power of the state, available to be used when the rulers and the state find it necessary."²³

The Klan's "supplemental" role, particularly as a private armed force sporadically deployed to arrest the development of movements for Black freedom, is best considered through the lens of Bureau operations. Unlike other COINTELPROs, the "Klan-White Hate Groups" program was of a different order entirely. This is hardly a surprise. As a repressive political police agency, senior FBI management echelons and a majority of agents in the field endorsed the Klan's nativist values – if not the vigilante character of their tactics – from militaristic anticommunism to extreme racial animus, from ultra-nationalism to misogynist puritanism.²⁴

This was evident during the civil rights struggles of the sixties when Freedom Riders and local community activists directly confronted hostile police forces – many of whom openly allied with the Klan. Despite clear jurisdictional authority to enforce federal law, the FBI consistently refused to serve as a "protection agency" for civil rights workers under severe attack across the South. More than once, the Bureau refused to warn those under imminent threat of violence. But FBI inaction in the area of civil rights enforcement wasn't simply a matter of the Bureau's well-documented racist subculture. Rather, FBI bureaucratic lethargy

when it came to protecting Black lives, underscored its mission as an atavistic bulwark against "subversion" for nativist constituents whose privileges and power were threatened by a militant movement for Black rights.²⁵

Strikingly different from anticommunist COINTELPROs that enmeshed broad non-communist social sectors in a web of repressive entanglements, FBI monitoring of the Klan was strictly confined to the organization itself. No serious efforts were made to explore the supplemental role of White Citizens' Councils (many of which were active Klan fronts), let alone investigate obvious and widespread police complicity in racist violence.²⁶ Bureau surveillance of the Klan was purely passive, hardly the directed aggression reserved for left-wing targets. But there was a more sinister facet to FBI investigative "passivity."

During the late fifties and early sixties the FBI attempted to crush the growing civil rights movement, first in the South and then nationally. Movements that resisted US apartheid were viewed with alarm and hostility by Congressmen and Senators with great power and influence at the federal level. Many Southern Democrats were Hoover's faithful allies in the Cold War struggle against communism and personally appealed to the Director for help "exposing" the alleged "communist" links of church-based civil rights groups. Assistance in the form of mobilizing the Bureau's vast intelligence resources wasn't long in coming. Beginning in January 1964 and continuing until his assassination in Memphis four years later, the FBI mounted aggressive operations against Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other prominent movement leaders.²⁷

But "dirty tricks" and vicious smear campaigns proved insufficient when it came to reversing "facts on the ground" established by militant campaigners. As Hoover's constituents began to lose the battle for public opinion "other means" became the option of choice. Church Committee hearings and internal FBI documents revealed that more than *one quarter* of all active Klan members during the period were FBI agents or informants.²⁸ However, Bureau intelligence "assets" were neither neutral observers nor objective investigators as claimed, but active participants in beatings, bombings and murders that claimed the lives of some 50 civil rights activists by 1964.

1961-1965: KLAN TERROR, BUREAU COMPLICITY

In May 1961 as civil rights activists turned up the heat, the FBI passed information to the Klan about Freedom Rider buses on their way to Birmingham, Alabama. A police sergeant, Thomas Cook, attached to the Birmingham police intelligence branch was plied with reports by Bureau informants. A Klan member himself, Cook furnished this information to Robert Shelton's Alabama Knights and arranged several meetings to discuss "matters of interest." Cook supplied Klan leaders with the names of "inter-racial organizations," the location of meetings, and the membership lists of civil rights groups for circulation in Klan publications. FBI informant, Gary Thomas Rowe, wrote a confidential memo to the Birmingham Special Agent in Charge (SAC) stating that Cook had handed over inter-office intelligence memos on civil rights

22. Ken Lawrence, "Vigilante Repression," *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Washington, D.C., Number 31, Winter 1989

23. Michael Novick, *White Lies, White Power: The Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence*, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1995, pp. 35-57

24. For an insider's account of FBI racism and misogyny, particularly the Bureau's role in the frame-up of Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga [Pratt] see: M. Wesley Swearingen, *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Expose*, South End Press, Boston, 1995

25. For a discussion of the nature of the FBI's "White Hate Groups" COINTELPRO see: Donner 1980, pp. 204-211

26. Donner 1980, p. 206

27. *ibid.*, pp. 216-219

28. *ibid.*, p. 207

activists during a Klan meeting. Rowe insisted that Cook not only gave him relevant information that police had in their files, but urged Rowe to "help himself to any material he thought he would need for the Klan."²⁹

According to documents obtained by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Birmingham SAC called Cook and informed him of the progress that Freedom Rider buses had made and when they were scheduled to arrive in the city. According to Rowe, Cook and Birmingham's public safety director, arch segregationist Eugene "Bull" Connor, conspired with Klan leaders and directly organized physical attacks on Freedom Riders when the buses reached their destination. According to one FBI memo, Connor declared: "By God, if you are going to do this thing, do it right."³⁰

In consultation with Shelton's group, Birmingham police agreed not to show up for 15 or 20 minutes after the buses pulled in to give Klansmen sufficient time to carry out their attack. Assailants were promised lenient treatment if, through some fluke, they managed to get arrested. During a planning meeting that finalized logistical details, Grand Titan Hubert Page advised Klansmen that Imperial Wizard Shelton spoke with Detective Cook and was informed that Freedom Rider buses were scheduled to arrive at 11:00 am on May 14.

Earlier that day, the KKK intercepted another bus on its way to Birmingham, beating the passengers and setting the vehicle ablaze. As agreed during consultations with Klan leadership, when the buses arrived no police were present at either of Birmingham's bus terminals but 60 fascists including Rowe were waiting. Klansmen attacked civil rights workers, reporters and photographers, viciously beating anyone within reach with lengths of chain, pipes and baseball bats.

According to ACLU attorney Howard Simon: "We found that the FBI knew that the Birmingham Police Department was infiltrated by the Klan, that many members of the police department were Klan members, that they knew a person in intelligence was passing information directly to leaders of the Klan, and they also knew their undercover agent had worked out an agreement with the police department to stay away from the terminals. They knew all that and still continued their relationship with the police department."³¹ This is a pattern widely repeated despite official denials across the decades.

Paramilitary activity by Klan informants were not limited to beatings or assaults. In keeping with the KKK's mission to preserve white supremacy at any price, the "Invisible Empire" launched a murderous campaign of terror. Thoroughly infiltrated by the FBI, the Bureau's priorities were not geared towards preventing violence by right-wing thugs but to increase the number of active informants. In at least half of all Klan units Bureau spies were elected to top leadership posts.³² Needless to say, "assets" obtained positions of organizational trust on the basis of promoting the Klan's fascistic agenda. Incitement to violence and participation in terrorist operations would only confirm the infiltrator's loyalty and commitment to "the cause." Information, not the suppression of racist violence was the Bureau's goal. For FBI bureaucrats tasked to



Freedom Riders beaten at Birmingham bus station

uncover evidence of the civil rights movement's allegedly "subversive" links, all means were appropriate.

Though the Bureau claimed that its "Klan-White Hate Group" COINTELPRO was launched in order to stifle white supremacist activities the historical record proves otherwise. The more well known, but by no means only examples of Klan terror during the period – the 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church that killed four black children; the 1964 murders of civil rights workers Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner in Mississippi; and the 1965 assassination of Viola Liuzzo and her companion near Selma, Alabama, point to knowledge of the crimes, and complicity in subsequent cover-ups by FBI officials.

Indeed, top Bureau informant Gary Thomas Rowe, was a central figure in two of the most publicized crimes of the period and as indulged in freelance acts of racist terror. He was suspected of involvement in firebombing the home of a wealthy Black Birmingham resident, the detonation of shrapnel bombs in Black neighborhoods and the murder of a Black man during a 1963 demonstration. And he became a prime suspect in the Birmingham church bombing after he failed two polygraph tests. His answers were described by investigators as "deceptive" when he denied having been with the Klan group that planted the bomb.³³

Despite enough evidence to open a preliminary investigation, the FBI refused, covering-up for Rowe even when another informant, John Wesley Hall, named him as a member of a three-man Klan security committee holding veto power over all proposed acts of violence. Years later, an independent inquiry uncovered evidence that Hall became a Bureau informant two months after the bombing and despite the fact that a polygraph test convinced the Alabama FBI that he was probably involved in the attack himself. Hall admitted to having moved dynamite for the plot's ringleader, Robert E. Chambliss, a Klan member since 1924. Even though court testimony and a wealth of evidence linking Hall, Rowe and other members of the Alabama Knight's to the bombing, the suspects were convicted on a misdemeanor charge – "possession of an explosive without a permit." It took more than a decade and three bungled investigations, to finally convict Chambliss of the crime.³⁴

In July 1997, almost 35 years after the Sixteenth Street Baptist

29. Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1990, p. 309; hereafter Donner 1990

30. National Lawyer's Guild, *Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Political Police, Volume One*, Chicago, 1978, p. 7

31. "Documents detail FBI-Klan links in early rights strife," *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1978

32. Donner 1980, p. 207

33. Howell Raines, "Police Given Data on Boast by Rowe," *The New York Times*, July 14, 1978

34. Churchill and Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers*, p. 369

Church bombing, the FBI re-opened its "investigation" based on "new information." However, "mainstream" news accounts *failed to report* the pivotal role played by Bureau informants in this wanton act of racist murder. What were the reasons behind this unexplained "lapse"? The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a target of a 1963 Klan assassination plot, believes he knows why only one man was convicted for the bombing. "It is well known," the 75-year-old civil rights leader said, "there was collusion all along between the FBI, local law enforcement and the Klan." Rev. Shuttlesworth should know: Bureau informant John Wesley Hall was the man who proposed killing the minister.³⁵

New light was shed on Rowe's privileged position as an FBI provocateur tasked to "disrupt and neutralize" the civil rights struggle. During a subsequent investigation into the murder of Viola Liuzzo, evidence surfaced that it was Rowe who actually fired the fatal shots that took her life. But instead of prosecuting Rowe the Bureau placed him in a federal witness protection program!³⁶ However in 1978, he was indicted by an Alabama grand jury as Liuzzo's killer. But complicity in shielding Rowe – and the Bureau – from exposure came to light when the contents of a J. Edgar Hoover memo to President Lyndon Johnson became public. Hours after the killings Hoover wrote: "A Negro man was with Mrs. Liuzzo and reportedly was sitting close to her." In a subsequent memo to aides, Hoover said he informed the President that "she was sitting very, very close to the Negro in the car; that it had the appearance of a necking party."³⁷ While providing a glimpse into the pathological nature of Hoover's racism and misogyny, the Director fails to enlighten us as to the mechanics of a "necking party" during a 100 mph car chase in the dead of night; a "party" by terrorized individuals fleeing armed Klan thugs intent on killing them in cold blood. However twisted, Hoover's slander was calculated to establish a *motive*: one that would "justify" Mrs. Liuzzo's murder on grounds of breaking one of nativism's primal laws: the prohibition against sex between the races. And if a salacious lie covered-up the role of the Bureau's hired gun, then that makes two birds with one stone doesn't it?



victims in the Greensboro massacre

35. Elizabeth Wine, "Blacks Hope for Best as Feds Reopen Bombing Case," *Reuters*, July 21, 1997

36. *The COINTELPRO Papers*, p. 170

37. Donner 1980, p. 214

THE GREENSBORO MASSACRE

On November 3, 1979 a "United Racist Front" (URF) of Klansmen and neo-Nazis murdered five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) in broad daylight. Their "crime" had been to organize a "Smash the Klan" demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina among that city's predominantly Black and working class mill workers. The Greensboro massacre provided crucial evidence that the Klan had cemented an alliance with neo-nazis, completing the "nazification of the Klan" underway for more than a decade.³⁸ But the murders in Greensboro also set the stage for a new "public-private partnership" with repressive national security agencies throughout the eighties. This relationship would bear fruit during the Reagan administration's covert war in Central America, when neofascists openly allied themselves with Oliver North's CIA-backed "Enterprise," lending their expertise as mercenaries and gun runners to the narco-terrorist Nicaraguan contras.³⁹

Crucial operational and logistical support for the slaughter was supplied by a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) agent, Bernard Butkovich. A Vietnam veteran and demolitions expert undercover in the local branch of the American Nazi Party, Butkovich helped the fascists obtain automatic weapons and provided the names of those to be shot. After the smoke cleared and five people lay dead, Butkovich assisted the death squad's escape.⁴⁰

But the ATF wasn't the only federal agency involved in the anti-red pogrom in North Carolina. Many of the individuals who fleshed-out the hit team were recruited and led by a "former" FBI Klan infiltrator, Edward Dawson. After allegedly leaving the Bureau's employ in 1976, he became a paid informant for the Greensboro Police Department (GPD). However there's also evidence Dawson continued to ply the Bureau with information concerning CWP activities.⁴¹

Dutifully reporting to GPD control agents, Detective Jerry Cooper and Lieutenant Robert Talbott, Dawson informed them that 85 Klansmen met in a near-by town and intended to counter-demonstrate November 3; they also planned to be armed. KKK Grand Dragon Virgil Griffin was actively soliciting Klansmen from other states to participate in the projected attack. It was rumored that neo-Nazis from the Winston-Salem area linked to the National Socialist White People's Party had obtained a machine gun and other heavy weapons, and intended to come to Greensboro "in order to shoot up the place."

Similar to the 1963 Birmingham Klan assault on Freedom Riders, Dawson received a stream of GPD intelligence reports, as well as a copy of the parade route and a map of the area the day before the march. It is inconceivable that the cops would have supplied information to a racist provocateur and not have known what he would do with it. Having prior knowledge that the fascists were armed, the inevitable conclusion is that the cops and feds desired a (one-sided) confrontation between anti-Klan marchers and Nazi terrorists. Three hours before the march, Dawson drove over the parade route with a contingent of out-of-town Klansmen; he also alerted Cooper that the URF had three handguns and nine long-barreled rifles in their possession, including automatic weapons supplied by ATF agent Butkovich.⁴²

38. Lawrence, *Vigilante Repression*, op. cit.

39. Ken Lawrence, "Nazis and Klansmen: Soldier of Fortune's Seamy Side," *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Washington, D.C., Number 22, Fall 1984

40. *Agents of Repression*, p. 182

41. Donner 1990, p. 360

42. *ibid.*

Matching the pattern of the Klan assault in Birmingham, Cooper and a police tactical squad drove by the house where the fascists assembled. They jotted down some license plate numbers and decided to take a lunch break – at 10:00 am! Less than an hour later Cooper, but not the tactical squad, trailed far behind the caravan and reported “shots fired” and then, “heavy gunfire.” However the tactical squad was nowhere in sight; conveniently, they were still “out to lunch.” Further proof of a set-up emerged later when two officers who responded to a domestic disturbance noted the absence of patrol cars usually assigned to the area. When they arrived at the Morningside projects, the jump-off point for the demo, one cop reported receiving a most unusual call from police communications. The officers were asked how long they anticipated being on the call; they were subsequently advised to “clear the area as soon as possible.” Moments later, five activists were dead.⁴³

A civil suit brought against the fascists and the Greensboro police resulted in a partial award to surviving family members. However, the FBI and ATF disavowed all knowledge of the plot and provocateur Butkovich walked away scott-free. Bureau Director William Webster labeled the charge of federal complicity “utterly absurd,” even though the killers had been recruited, organized and led on their murderous rampage by a “former” FBI informant and automatic weapons supplied by an ATF undercover agent had been used in the massacre. Talk about coincidences! But for official guardians of order, Greensboro demonstrates the efficacy of using “plausibly deniable” instruments to serve a “system-supportive” goal – killing communists.⁴⁴

“EVEN NOW THE CROSS-HAIRS ARE ON THE BACK OF YOUR NECK!”

Convinced the US was under threat of an imminent “communist takeover” Robert DePugh, a disenchanted member of the John Birch Society founded the Minutemen in the early sixties. Forged as a “last line of defense against communism,” DePugh’s secret warriors were dedicated to building an underground army against “the enemy within.”⁴⁵ The Minutemen and their federalized off-shoot, the Secret Army Organization (SAO), maintained extensive file catalogues on alleged “subversives.” DePugh claimed that the group’s Norborne, Missouri headquarters had a data-base with information on some 65,000 individuals⁴⁶, and the coordinator of the Minutemen’s West Coast franchise, Troy Houghton, declared they had some 300,000 cards in their regional directory.⁴⁷ However absurd far-right paranoia appears on the surface, it has serious and potentially deadly consequences for anyone caught in the cross-hairs.

Before their undoing in 1969, the result not of a sinister plot by “communist infiltrators in the government,” but because DePugh and others were prepared to rob banks to finance the organization, the Minutemen had built a formidable national network with thousands of members stockpiling secret arsenals with more than enough firepower to match their feverish rhetoric. In 1966, 19 New York Minutemen were arrested and accused of plotting to bomb three summer camps allegedly used by “Communist, left-wing and liberal” groups “for indoctrination

purposes.” Subsequent raids uncovered a huge arms cache that included military assault rifles, bombs, mortars, machine guns, grenade launchers and even a bazooka. Though DePugh’s imprisonment was a sign the Minutemen had passed into the “Valhalla” reserved for mythical heroes of the warrior-right, one of their largest chapters was in San Diego, CA, a traditional stronghold of nativist anticommunism.



Minutemen founder Robert DePugh

In February 1970, six Minutemen from four states led by Jerry Lynn Davis held a clandestine summit in northern Arizona. Surveying the ruins, they were convinced that “communist-elements” within the Justice Department had destroyed the group. Undeterred by recent events they formed the nucleus of the Secret Army Organization (SAO). As conceived by Davis and the others, the SAO would be armed but low-key: a propaganda group with a potential for waging guerrilla war against leftists should the need arise. Emphasizing regional autonomy and a decentralized structure, they believed they had inoculated themselves against unwanted attention from “communist-controlled” government agencies. Shortly after the meeting, chapters were established in San Diego, Las Vegas, Phoenix and Seattle with promising contacts made in Portland, El Paso, Los Angeles and Oklahoma.⁴⁸ Little did they know they were being groomed for service as a right-wing death squad for the FBI.

The key element in Bureau plans was Howard Berry Godfrey, a San Diego fireman, devout Mormon, and self-styled commando. A paid FBI informant for more than five years, Godfrey was a snitch and provocateur because he believed “it was my duty to my country.”⁴⁹ According to ex-members it was Godfrey who was the real force behind the SAO. While on the federal dole, Godfrey selected the organization’s name and

43. *ibid.*

44. *Agents of Repression*, p. 181

45. Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 76-81

46. *ibid.*, p. 80

47. The Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC), “The Secret Army Organization,” *Counter-Spy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1973, p. 5

48. Peter Biskind, “The FBI’s Secret Soldiers,” *New Times*, Volume 6, Number 1, January 9, 1976, pp. 21-22

49. CARIC, *op. cit.*, p. 8

defrayed start-up costs, including expenditures for printing and mailing literature. By September 1971, there were four active cells in San Diego; but unbeknownst to his erstwhile comrades, they were being manipulated by the Bureau, the state's ultimate "secret army organization."

San Diego was the center of a thriving activist community committed to a multitude of projects anathema to the nativist right. With 200,000 active-duty soldiers stationed at nearby bases, the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) was the logical outcome of antiwar efforts at influencing soldiers bound for Vietnam. MDM organizing had made small, but promising chinks in the military's armor. Campus organizing by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the emergence of militant Chicano organizations in the area, were viewed as serious threats to US efforts to prosecute the war. A thriving "underground" press in the form of the *San Diego Street Journal*, was a popular antidote to a strident right-wing media. But when the *Journal* ran a series of exposes on the shady financial empire of Nixon crony, C. Arnholt Smith, the response from entrenched right-wingers was swift. It would soon turn violent.⁵⁰

Between November 1969 and January 1970, remnants of the Minutemen launched attacks against the *Journal*. Bullets were fired into the office, paint splashed over furniture, equipment smashed, records and subscription lists stolen, staff cars firebombed, *Journal* vending machines vandalized. When the newspaper attempted to relocate to new offices, their prospective landlord was arrested by San Diego police on a fabricated "murder" charge! Released after an hour, the *Journal* was told they'd have to look elsewhere. As the SAO gradually came "on-line" as a Bureau surrogate, attacks against the newspaper and its staff intensified.⁵¹

Peter Bohmer, a radical economics professor at San Diego State University was popular with students and an articulate spokesperson against the war. Harassed by conservative university bureaucrats who objected to his antiwar activism, Bohmer was fired after a protracted struggle. The attention he received as a result of his much-publicized battle with the university drew SAO scrutiny. Beginning in 1971 a vicious campaign was launched against the professor. In April tear gas crystals were dumped in a car parked in front of his home. On May 4, a muffled voice warned over the phone "the cross hairs are on you." In the summer of 1971 San Diego was chosen at the site for the 1972 Republican convention and harassment against Bohmer increased, punctuated by assaults on other activists and fire-bombings targeting the antiwar and Chicano movements.⁵²

Ironically, COINTELPRO operations were said to have been terminated nearly a year earlier in the wake of the "Citizen's Committee" raid on the FBI's Media, PA office. But on January 6, 1972 the SAO dramatically upped the ante. Earlier that day SAO cross-hair stickers were plastered on the door of Bohmer's office, that evening a caller threatened: "This time we left a sticker, next time we may leave a grenade. This is the SAO!" A few hours later, sitting next to Godfrey in a car parked outside Bohmer's home SAO soldier, George Mitchell Hoover, fiddled with a gun. Aiming a 9mm Polish Radom pistol, Hoover fired two shots into the house; he would have fired a third but the weapon jammed. The first bullet struck *San Diego Street Journal* reporter, Paula Tharp, shattering her elbow. The second shot narrowly missed Shari

Whitehead and lodged in a window frame above her head. When the smoke cleared, two shell-casings matching the slug removed from Tharp's arm were retrieved from the street.

Next day, Godfrey turned over the gun to his FBI control agent, Steve Christiansen, a devout Mormon and a dedicated anticommunist like Godfrey. The Special Agent hid the weapon under his couch for more than six months while San Diego police conducted a half-hearted "investigation." Though guilty of covering-up a criminal act, Christiansen insisted Bureau superiors knew he was hiding the gun and fully approved of actions intended to protect "confidential sources."⁵³

Although the Tharp shooting generated considerable publicity, and even some pressure on police to make arrests, the cops responded in characteristic fashion: they floated the absurd notion that Bohmer carried out the attack himself in an effort "to attract sympathy for his cause!"⁵⁴ Despite their foot-dragging, the SDPD were certain the FBI had a mole inside the SAO, but the Bureau refused to cooperate. Relentless harassment continued through the spring of 1972; more fire-bombings, threatening phone calls, more cross-hair stickers; just another day at the office for right-wing counter guerrillas. But then the group made a fatal mistake, one that would cost them dearly, except for Howard Berry Godfrey.

Like other right-wing outfits then and now, the SAO was firmly committed to waging war on "pornography," a "communist beach-head" considered a grave threat to America's "moral fiber." Then and now, "pornography" was viewed as an attack on the patriarchal family; a hot-button issue sure to arouse the ire of nativists' who thought nothing of dropping millions of tons of bombs on Southeast Asian women and children deemed official enemies of the "freest country on earth."

On June 19, 1972, William Yakopec entered the Guild Theater, a local porno house; concealed under his jacket was a bomb. After he pried a cover loose from a vent at the rear of the building, he hurriedly left the premises. Moments later a powerful explosion ripped through the theater, destroying the screen, blowing debris 60 feet into the air and showering the terrified audience with concrete shards and two-by-fours. Unfortunately for Yakopec and the SAO, a deputy district attorney and a San Diego cop were in the audience, conducting an "investigation" to determine whether *I am Curious (Yellow)* met pertinent criteria in the flesh department to be banned as "pornography!"⁵⁵

Though city fathers had no problem when right-wing militants directed their wrath at "suitable" targets, taking out a cop and a district attorney was too much even in California! Rubien D. Brandon, the cop who narrowly escaped being blown to kingdom come angrily phoned the FBI and demanded the name of their informer. A week later, seven members of the SAO were behind bars. Yakopec was charged with the Guild Theater bombing, George Hoover with the Tharp shooting and the group's nominal leader, Jerry Lynn Davis, with receiving stolen property and possession of illegal explosives. Reluctantly, the Bureau realized the time had come to shut the "project" down.

During the investigation of the Guild Theater bombing, the Yakopec home and those of other SAO members were raided by police.

50. Biskind, op. cit., p. 21

51. *ibid.*

52. CARIC, op. cit., pp. 5-6

53. Biskind, op. cit., p. 23

54. *ibid.* In the case of the assassination attempt on Earth First! activists, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney nearly 20 years later, the Oakland police and FBI concocted a similarly ludicrous charge in a ham-handed effort to frame-up the environmental activists. No laughing matter, this is a standard disinformation technique used by countersubversive police everywhere.

55. *ibid.*

Investigators recovered two half pound blocks of C-4 plastique, HDP primers, blasting caps, 30-40 feet of fuses, SAO literature, stacks of cross-hair stickers ready to go and a small arsenal of weapons, including an unopened case of M-16's valued at more than \$60,000. During a simultaneous raid on the home of Genevieve and Richard Fleury, the cops seized ammunition, dozens of revolvers, lugers and eight bandoliers containing more than a thousand rounds of 30-caliber bullets. It was later revealed that some of these munitions had been transferred to the SAO from the Marine base at Camp Pendleton by a right-wing physician, Dr. Harold Young. Ex-Minuteman member, Dino Martinelli claimed he had been involved in the transfer and that the SDPD and FBI were aware of the thefts but did nothing.⁵⁶

What were the results of exposing of extensive links between federal authorities and the Secret Army Organization? While Yakopec, Hoover and Davis went to prison, Godfrey, the FBI's point-man, was rewarded with a job in the state fire marshal's office. Agent Christiansen left the Bureau shortly after his role in the affair came to light. Refusing to talk, Christiansen would only tell reporters that "The FBI is taking good care of us."⁵⁷

But even after the belated exposure of these sinister operations, the Bureau continued to hound Peter Bohmer. In 1974, FBI snitch John Rasperry, disclosed that control agents directed him to "get rid" of Bohmer because he "posed a threat to national security." Although they discussed various methods of "disappearing" the radical professor on more than one occasion, fortunately Rasperry was never given the final go-ahead. When this crude attempt to silence their critic failed, they tried to implicate Bohmer in the shooting of two San Diego cops. Even though they knew that he had nothing to do with the incident, the Bureau took the highly unusual step of contracting out their investigation to a local private detective agency in hopes of finding something, *anything* to use against him.⁵⁸

But the trail ends here. In the wake of subsequent revelations, including possible links to Nixon "dirty-trickster" Donald Segretti, implicated in a bizarre plan to kidnap prominent left-wingers during the Republican National Convention, and Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) super-snoop, CIA Bay of Pigs veteran G. Gordon Liddy, the Justice Department covered the FBI's tracks. Finally in 1975 the Church Committee declined to investigate. Case closed.

"TREASON MUST BE PUNISHED!"

The FBI wasn't the only federal agency to carry out aggressive intelligence or launch countersubversive operations against policy critics – nor was the Bureau alone in deploying right-wing terrorists against the left.

The US Army's 113th Military Intelligence Group (MIG), based in Evanston, IL and the Chicago Police Department's notorious red squad jointly ran a fascist organization between 1969-1972, the Legion of Justice. Founded by divorce lawyer S. Thomas Sutton, a former "liberal" who organized racist demonstrations in suburban Chicago opposed to open-housing campaigns led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his supporters, Sutton ran as an independent segregationist candidate for governor of Illinois in 1968. Through contacts made during these racist mobilizations, the Legion evolved into an action-front for "conservative" groups such as the campus-based Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)

and openly fascist outfits such as the American Nazi Party, the National Socialist White People's Party and the National States Rights Party. Sutton's organization even shared a post office box with the Minutemen. The insignia for both groups were quite similar: while the Minutemen favored a simple rifle sight, the Legion of Justice used a guillotine superimposed over cross-hairs with the motto: "Treason Must Be Punished!"⁵⁹

Concentrating operations primarily in the Chicago area, the Legion specialized in the usual repertoire: beatings, break-ins, vandalism, and general purpose terror against the left. In less than a year, Sutton claimed that five or six units were functioning in Chicago, each with forty to sixty members; four suburban detachments of equal strength, as well as affiliates in Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin. But the Legion of Justice was more than just another right-wing goon squad.⁶⁰

As a component of the US military's covert civilian disturbance program "Garden Plot/Cable Splicer," the Pentagon proposed training civilian law enforcement agencies such as the FBI, ATF, and local police in military strategies and tactics. Taught by US Army counterinsurgency specialists with plenty of experience in Southeast Asia and Latin America butchering civilians, the course emphasized counter guerrilla tactics and psychological warfare. In times of acute crisis, "Special Operations Groups" selected from among key non-military personnel nationally could be deployed to urban "hot-spots" if things "got out of hand." Advice, tactical consultation and free provision of military equipment would be provided these specialized units by the Army. A characteristic feature of US counterinsurgency doctrine is the arming of mercenary bands in the field as auxiliaries to US Army Special Forces. If the use of right-wing formations such as the CIA's Montagnard army were "do-able" in Southeast Asia, why would the deployment of "pseudo-gangs" such as the Klan, SAO or Legion of Justice not be an appropriate response to leftist subversion at home?⁶¹

The 113th MIG provided Legionnaires with tear gas, mace, electronic bugging equipment and funds in order to carry out their highly-specialized and sensitive "operations." Suitable targets were jointly selected by the 113th MIG and the red squad. Legionnaires clubbed, maced and beat-up socialists and antiwar activists; conducted office break-ins; stole files; planted bugs and vandalized progressive bookstores. A treasure trove of stolen files, films, membership lists and other materials were shared by Chicago police and Army intelligence.⁶²

A Legion goon squad broke into the offices of the Socialist Workers Party on November 1, 1969, assaulted party members and made off with documents, records, books, tapes and a cash box. But the level of complicity between police and fascists didn't stop there. During a press conference after the raid, Sutton proudly displayed the "liberated" tro-

59. Lawrence, op. cit., *Vigilante Repression*, p. 31

60. Donner 1980, p. 427

61. *Agents of Repression*, p. 194. Significantly, what began as a secret program to train the FBI and local police in US Army counterinsurgency strategies and tactics has evolved into the wholesale militarization of local and federal law enforcement agencies. The rise of "Special Weapons and Tactics" (SWAT) teams at the local level is complemented nationally by the FBI's infamous "Hostage Rescue Team" (HRT). Both SWAT and HRT operations rely on the use of fully automatic heavy weapons and the deployment of military vehicles such as armored personnel carriers and military helicopters for "suppression" purposes. Originally linked to the widespread rebellions of the sixties and seventies, militarized police units have become a permanent feature of the urban landscape. For an incisive look at the modern face of police repression in the US see: Peter Cassidy, "Operation Ghetto Storm: The Rise of Paramilitary Policing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Washington, D.C., Number 62, Fall 1997

62. Donner 1980, p. 428

56. CARIC, op. cit., p. 6

57. Biskind, op. cit., p. 25

58. *ibid.*

phies. When SWP organizer Richard Hill identified the stolen material and demanded Sutton and two other Legionnaires he named as members of the raiding party be arrested, Sutton was asked by reporters if the foray was illegal. Sutton declared: "We find there is no law to protect a traitor." Chicago police agreed. Discussing the matter amiably on a first name basis, the cops refused to arrest Sutton. On the same day as the press conference, another Legion supporter tried to enter SWP headquarters again. When they barred his way, the fascist had them arrested on charges of "illegal restraint"! Finally on November 15, the Legion publicly burned the stolen literature during a counter-demonstration at an anti-war rally.⁶³

Legion activities would take a more sinister turn. Two days after the assassination of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton by Chicago police (a killing made possible by information supplied them by FBI infiltrator William O'Neal), a detail of 30 cops with guns drawn bum-rushed SWP headquarters. Claiming they received an anonymous "tip" that a shootout was in progress, the cops ransacked the place. A series of phone calls, later tied to the Legion, were made to party offices around the country claimed the Chicago headquarters had been attacked by police and that they had taken many casualties. Acting through the Legion, the 113th MIG and Chicago cops hoped that the SWP would arm itself as a protective measure, justifying a pretext raid similar to Los Angeles Police Department operations against the Black Panther Party, with devastating effects in LA and elsewhere.⁶⁴

Fascist attacks were not just against organizations but were also meant to disrupt movement scenes. Raids on bookstores, cafes, clubs and other leftist hang-out's were added to the routine. Legion goons repeatedly harassed the Guild bookstore, a popular progressive hub where radical books and periodicals were sold. On one occasion four men entered the shop, maced one of the owners, overturned bookshelves and magazine racks and dropped a hand grenade that fortunately turned out to be a dud. But since the cops already knew who was responsible and did nothing the fascists acted with impunity. In March 1969, a squad comprised of eight Legionnaires attempted to trash the Guild again, but this time instead of flower-power, they were met with more persuasive arguments. When they refused to leave, store owner Richard Wunsch levelled a shotgun at the raiders and convinced them it would be wise if they did. Tails between their legs they found the door, but returned within minutes accompanied by a dozen of Chicago's "finest." Instead of arresting the fascists, Wunsch was busted for "aggravated assault" and "possession of an unregistered weapon" — despite the fact the cops refused to look at his gun registration. When another member of the Guild collective presented the registration to a desk sergeant down at the cop-shop, it was rejected because Wunsch had already been booked!⁶⁵

Shortly after this attack, the Legion raided the apartment and bookstore of radical students at the Northern Illinois University in DeKalb. Four men wearing ski masks and armed with mace, baseball bats and tire irons viciously beat the students, one victim so severely he had to be hospitalized. A young Legionnaire later bragged at a public rally, "We went to DeKalb and closed down a liberal bookstore by beating all hippies and niggers in there." Though Legion authorship was undisputed, DeKalb police ignored the fascists. Instead, they grilled the students

about their politics, blamed the raid on "black militants" (even though *all* the raiders were white), confiscated the remaining books and literature that hadn't been trashed and then tried to get the students evicted!⁶⁶

Before the Legion was finally shut down after collusion between the fascists, the cops and the Army's intelligence unit was exposed, their violent operations were useful to state efforts to disrupt the left. Though publicity and outrage was widespread, Sutton bragged to critics and victims alike that he couldn't be touched because he had "friends in high places."⁶⁷ Indeed!

CONCLUSION

Several things should be clear by now: the state will use all available means to destroy progressive and radical social movements posing a threat to the prevailing order; Bureau harassment of the left didn't stop with COINTELPRO. Throughout the seventies, eighties and continuing today, the FBI has maintained a close working relationship with far-right groups when it serves a ubiquitous "system-supportive" goal. Hardly the "anti-government extremists" the media and liberal "watch-dogs" claim they are, the far-right and their minions constitute repression's reserve army; provided their attacks are launched against "the usual suspects." The bizarre neofascist organization led by Lyndon H. LaRouche⁶⁸ and the sinister Unification Church empire of South Korean clerical-fascist Sun Myung Moon are but two of the more recent, and glaring examples of the on-going nature of the "public-private partnership."⁶⁹ Why should we have any reason to believe the leopard has changed his spots?

The oft-made claim is that in the wake of the Murrah federal building bombing in Oklahoma City, the FBI have trained their gun-sights on right-wing "anti-government extremists." It goes without saying the state will move to crush *some* fascists, particularly if they assassinate prominent public figures, finance operations through bank robberies or launch attacks on vital infrastructure. This was the case during the COINTELPRO-era when the feds smashed the Minutemen, during the eighties when the neo-Nazi "Silent Brotherhood" ran aground, and it remains so now.

In today's right-wing social climate characterized by broad reactionary attacks instituted by both bourgeois parties, we can't afford to be naive enough to follow discredited liberals into an intellectual and moral swamp where "fighting the right" is a worn-out refrain for electing more Democrats. Look what similar enterprises have led to in France — a sinister fascist outfit, the National Front, is poised to become that country's largest *working class* party! Building on the modest, though significant lessons gained by defending our own initiatives and sending Nazi boneheads and other reactionary forces packing, militant anti-fascists either organize independently of the system we claim to oppose or become irrelevant. Theoretical and practical confusion on this score guarantees the consolation trophy on game day; however in the fight against fascism "there are no prizes for coming second."

66. Donner 1990, p. 148

67. Donner 1980, p. 430

68. For information on LaRouche's extensive history of collaboration with the FBI and US intelligence see: Dennis King, *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism*, Doubleday, New York, 1989

69. For information on the role of the Moon organization's violent attacks on the Central America solidarity movement see: Gelbspan, op. cit., pp. 74-77

63. *ibid.*

64. *ibid.*, pp. 428-429

65. *ibid.*

FASCISM IN CANADA

by Dr. Terman

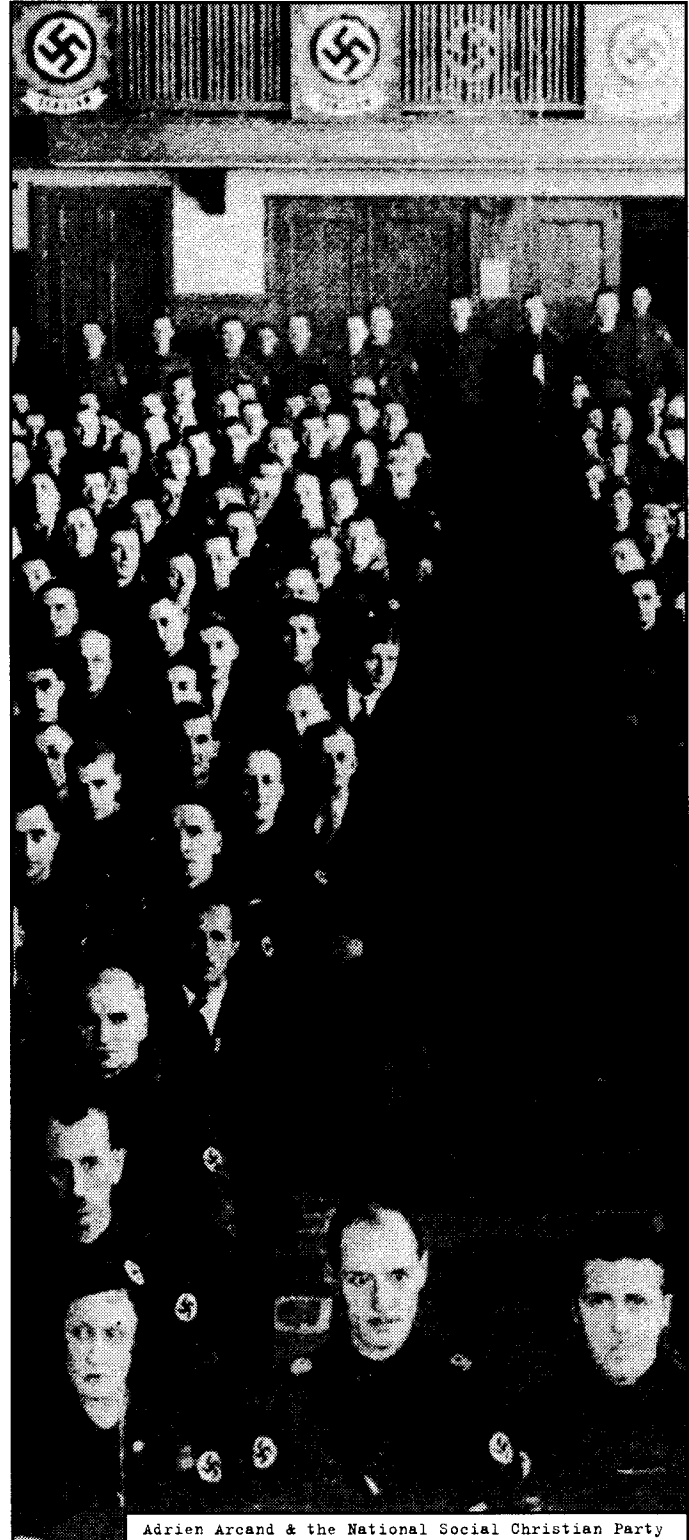
The Early Years

As we approach the millennium a renaissance of the Far-Right is spreading across Europe, growing from marginalization to mainstream. In France, the Front National (FN) are now the party with the largest base of working class support. In the 1995 presidential elections, 27% of blue collar workers – former constituents of the Socialists – voted for Le Pen. Since the early 90s, the far-right have succeeded in setting the agenda in Germany while parties like the REP (Republican Party) make off with millions of votes in European Parliament elections. As part of a right-wing coalition in Italy, the Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance) gained a moderate success in a 1994 General Election (13.5% of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies) and are now able to muster a 250,000-strong rally in Milan. In Austria, the Freedom Party held 27.6% of the vote in a national election in October 1996. The Vlaams Bloc (Flemish Block) in Belgium have held sway with 28.8% of the vote as the biggest political group in 18 of the council's 55 seats since 1994. Fascists in England are still waiting to break through and are paying close attention to the "europeanist" strategy on the continent. Naturally, militant anti-fascists in North America are concerned whether fascist groups here can ignore these gains or attempt to match them in their own way.

Similar to the British National Party (BNP) in England, far-right groups in Canada and the US have previously attempted to mimic the successes of the FN, with limited but notable success. Most noteworthy is the American-styled Le Pen, David Duke, a former Klansman who became elected to Louisiana legislature. Duke promoted a moderate conservatism in the public eye, aiming to move 'racialism' out of the fringes and into the mainstream political debate. His was one particular model which set an example for the far-right in Canada of recent times. Throughout the war years, a similar path was travelled by a fascist party strategy aimed at aligning with federal politics. Using these early years as an example, we can provide ourselves with important lessons, not just about the nature of fascism, but also about the tactics and organization necessary to counter its manoeuvres and fight it.

THE EARLY YEARS

During the rise to power of fascism in Europe, various countries bore movements of support for the campaigns of Mussolini and Hitler. Canada was no exception. With an economy in ruins and a government in crisis, the conditions for fascism were ripe. The 1920s had seen the sudden and rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan, imported with degrees of success from the United States. While the Reconstruction Klan from the south was primarily white supremacist, the 'Northern Knights' had a somewhat wider scope that included Jews, Catholics and anything else deemed foreign. Foreigners make up "by far the largest proportion of inmates in our insane asylums" claimed grown men with pillowcases on their heads. Klan groups cropped up across the country, but were probably strongest in western Canada where an influx of east Asian immigrant labour provided a convenient target. The stage was set by



Adrien Arcand & the National Social Christian Party



events such as the Komagata Maru incident, where a shipload Sikh immigrants were refused entry to Canada and held offshore without food or water for two months. Klan groupings elsewhere in Canada, suffering from the absence of a constant scapegoat, occupied themselves foremost with factional rifts. Anti-immigration continued to be the mainstay, however, and the Klan rallied behind the Conservative government's calls for more stringent immigration controls. Both the conservatives and the Klan were seeking to influence the same base of people: small farmers and working townspeople. Both parties recognized the path to power and contributed to each other's political steam. Despite this, the Klan failed to adapt to changing times in the 30s. By the end of the 20s, the Klan had run its race.

The main drive of a European-influenced fascist movement began in Quebec, steeped in an anti-semitism existing long before the advent of Adolph Hitler. A folkic movement known as the Goglus was growing in French Canada, modeled after European patriotic societies and based on revisionist forgeries such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Adrien Arcand, a professional journalist who wrote for *La Presse* of Montreal, would soon spearhead a movement magnifying the Jewish question and tailoring it to fit into a fascist program for Canada. It was 1930, a Conservative government had been swept into power, and Arcand was getting flustered over the prospects of a 'brave new era'. He began his career as a fascist at the outset of the Depression, announcing the formation of the *Ordre Patriotique des Goglus*. This racial nationalist movement started out as a propaganda campaign consisting of three weekly papers; *Le Goglu*, *Le Miroir* and *Le Chameau*. These were produced by Arcand and Joseph Menard, the son of a well-established printer. *Le Goglu* spouted a so-called anti-capitalist (read: anti-Jew) nationalism. Funds for the project mainly came from supporters of the professional class who were opposed to the competition of Jewish businesses. The anti-semitism of the day had been fired up by a Jewish School Commission Bill aimed at setting up a Committee to deal with school boards. This Bill met with outspoken opposition, particularly from the Conservative Party. So as it went, subsidies to Arcand's

propaganda also came in from Camillien Houde, mayor of Montreal and leader of the provincial Conservatives. To return the favor, *Le Goglu* printed scathing attacks against the provincial Liberals. Houde soon publicly distanced himself from the papers, but funnily enough, at that exact juncture the papers became organs of the federal Conservative party. Arcand received a guarantee of \$25,000 and further necessary support on condition that the Goglus help them garner 12 seats in the upcoming election. The Goglus did their bit by printing 100,000 election circulars. Double the amount of sought after seats were gained from an electorate who were – quite literally – hungry for change. Arcand and Menard each received \$18,000 for services rendered. When Arcand's printing plant was completely destroyed by an act of anti-fascist public service, national Conservative leader R.B. Bennett saw to helping Arcand equip a new one. In the pages of *Le Fasciste Canadien*, Arcand informed readers that Bennett's New Deal would usher in an age of corporatism – total control of economy and state by the party – and that "all the Bennett legislation tends towards fascism."

Arcand admired and loyally served a number of patriotic celebrities even the Archbishop of Montreal – but his lot was well and truly with A. Hitler and company. By 1932, Arcand was in contact with various fascist groups abroad as well as across North America. Funds now came in from these contacts and supporters, notably Lord Sydenham, the author of a text called *The Jewish World Problem*. Sydenham was in with the ultra-right wing of the British Conservative party and shared Arcand's close contacts with international anti-semitic Henry Beamish of the Britons, Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists and Britain's Imperial Fascist League. Emboldened by events unfolding further abroad, Arcand's fascist program in its entirety came out into the open. When the Hitler years began, Arcand acted as publicist for the Nazis, calling for expulsion of the Jews. Representatives from Germany sought out good help in America and Canada, and they found it with Arcand. Readers of *Le Goglu* were told that if it was good for Germany to get rid of the Jews, it would be even better for Canada. Whereas the Liberal party had previously been a target for spite in the columns of Arcand's paper, now the whole party system seemed to become fair game. Although in reality, Arcand would always back one democratic party or another, thinking they would usher in his 'brave new era'.

Things soon took a turn as lack of public support for Hitler became detriment to Arcand's cause. Even within his own spheres of support, the admiration many had for Mussolini did not translate to support for the mass fascist phenomenon of Nazi Germany. Despite Arcand's attempts to dress the radical right up in traditional French-Canadian virtues and Christian values, French-Canadians were suspicious of Hitler's anti-Catholicism. Soon other groups appeared during the Depression years to feed off racial nationalism. A worker's organization known as the *Federation des Clubs Ouvriers* got the brown shirts and stiff right arms out, almost immediately going for an electoral approach on the municipal level. However, they were seen as rivals to Arcand who had meanwhile forged ahead and published a new paper called *Le Patriote*. This set the stage for the emergence of his National Social Christian Party – complete with a corps of Blueshirts – which he formally announced early on in 1934. Arcand, now at the helm of a fully-fledged Nazi-style party, still garnered interest from high-ranking politicians. After all, an election was again looming on the horizon. That year, Arcand was appointed publicity director for a campaign led by Bennett in French Canada. Election time brought a fresh round of

NATIONALISTS AND COMMUNISTS CLASH IN MARKET SQUARE BATTLE

Bracken Presents Bill Making Marketing Act Effective in Manitoba

Premier Says Measure Experimental in Character But Deserving of Trial—Says Provincial Government Has No Claim to Any Credit Nor Liable for Any Loss—Sanford Evans Critical. Will Outline Stand Today.

"I have been in the United States for 10 years," said the man, who declined to give his name. "I have been in the United States for 10 years," said the man, who declined to give his name. "I have been in the United States for 10 years," said the man, who declined to give his name.

PRICE SPREADS PROBE
TOLD OF LOSSES OF
FOUR STORES IN B.C.

Financial Situation of Reorganized
Business of David Spencer,
Credited, Described

States Seven Directors Paid
\$1,130,755 as Salaries Over

[illegible]

England's Premier in Grandpa Role



It may be suggested that in the country in the west of England, on the second day of the week, when the people are at home, the "Ladies' Bazaar" will be a success. Mrs. Macdonald, however, says that the "Ladies' Bazaar" will be a success. Mrs. Macdonald, however, says that the "Ladies' Bazaar" will be a success.

Greatly Outnumbered, Brown Shirts Badly Battered Before Rescued by Police Riot Squad

REPRESENTATIONS ON
TRANSIT BILL ENDED
IN HOUSE COMMITTEE

Bracken Says Unlikely Price
Satisfactory is City and Com-

**Craig Urges Members to Act
Decisively and Solve Trans-**

[illegible]

France Planning to Sell Britain Wheat

failure, but Arcand still maintained that his party was the heir of the Conservatives.

From 1933 on, fascists across the rest of Canada were becoming more numerous and better organized. Apart from the French enclave of Quebec, the rest of Canada was visibly British. "Keep Canada British" was a popular slogan of the times. Areas such as Toronto, for example, were strongholds of Anglo-Saxon nativism; nevermind one of the largest centers of strength for the Orange Order. Winnipeg, Manitoba saw the import of a movement based on Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) from England. The Canadian Union of Fascists (CUF), as with Mosley, claimed to promote "fascism by peaceful, legal and constitutional means." The cornerstone of the CUF was corporatism, the state doctrine of private ownership evolved by Mussolini. Like it was with the European dictators, the view of state control included co-existence with capitalism; the destruction of property rights naturally being the ultimate sin of socialism! Within a year, CUF branches existed in Toronto, Woodstock, Regina, and Vancouver. The official party organ, the Thunderbolt was produced in Toronto. A number of Italians were involved with the organization but Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia soon lost the respect of most English-speaking Canadians. Combined with this and weak organizing, Mosleyites in Canada never really got their show on the road. A Brownshirt-styled group called the Canadian Nationalist Party (CNP) had also been launched in Winnipeg. The CNP was primarily made up of English-speaking Protestants whose self-professed objectives included fighting communism and ending the depression by way of "one national government." They were led by William Whittaker, a former sergeant-major in the army who had also worked as a police officer. The CNP would go on to become one of the more influential of the various fascist groups. Other variants included organizations made up of immigrants from other European countries

living in Canada; almost like social clubs of support for fascist movements abroad. These were relatively small though, and were matched by anti-fascist organization from their respective communities.

Overall, there were two main camps of fascism in Canada. One was represented by the CNP based in Ontario and further to the West. Its Toronto organizer Joseph Farr boasted a membership of 8,000 in his branch alone, although more sane estimates have put this number at less than half. The other main camp was Arcand's NSCP in Quebec. Arcand claimed 80,000 – 85,000 followers in Montreal alone but again, membership was considerably less. These two camps would soon form an alliance against their common opponents, for while Arcand's on-and-off-again affair with mainstream politics served one purpose, another front was needed to campaign in battle for control of the streets.

ALL OUR YESTERDAYS

The Depression years were characterized by extreme social and economic strife. By 1932, Canada's wheat market had collapsed, wage cuts and layoffs were widespread, and labour camps swiftly became the fix-all solution from Tory government. The rising tide of social unrest was naturally marked with political action. Strikes leading up to the On To Ottawa Trek; the Regina riot in 1935; the involvement of Canadian volunteers in the fight against Franco's fascism in the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. Anti-fascism on the homefront was also growing, in league with Communist Party activity and labour mobilizations against the government.

In 1929, residents of Toronto's Kew Beach district organized a Swastika Club to police their beach in attempts to keep it free from Jewish patronage. Although not fascist by design – based more on xenophobia – youth gangs wearing the swastika appeared in a number of cities to harass Jewish citizens. The first major manifestation of the

resulting tensions came in 1933 following the launch of Toronto's Balmy Beach Swastika Club. After the residents association had abandoned the swastika emblem, a right-wing element led by one Joseph Farr hijacked and revitalized it. A new Swastika Club was born, complete with brown shirts and a fascist program. A public meeting held by the new group was attended by an overflow crowd – not of supporters – but of anti-fascist opponents who had come to disrupt the event. Fearing a riot, police shut the meeting down.

In the same year on August 17, front-page headlines read, "Six Hours of Rioting Follows Hitler Shout – Scores Hurt, Two Held." The incident took place at a baseball game between Jewish and non-Jewish teams at Willowvale Park in the working class district of Christie Pits.

The outbreak of war had served up a perfect opportunity for the ruling powers to deal a blow to left-wing activists... along with some who had risked their lives in Spain to stop the fascist advance.

A swastika painted on a bedsheet in the stands and shouts of Heil Hitler understandably kicked it all off. Fighting began on the field and spread throughout the park, players and all. The quick appearance of sledge-hammers, lead piping, and sawed-off bats meant planning and organization. The flagbearers were beaten down and their bedsheet ripped to pieces by militant Jewish youth. Truckloads of Jews, some Italians and other combatants joined the fray which raged until about 2 am. Police were hopelessly outnumbered. Most units had been dispatched to Allan Gardens to intimidate a meeting of the Unemployed Ex-Servicemen's Association. The main anti-fascist element at the rumble were working class youth of Jewish immigrants who rallied together with co-workers and comrades to smash the Swastika Clubs. Despite their elders having counseled them against "squad tactics" and "taking the law into their own hands" the actions of the day awarded an undisputed second prize to the pro-Nazi element.

By now, the rising tide of fascist organization was paralleled with the massing of anti-fascist forces from blue-collar districts. In 1934 clashes between fascists and anti-fascists intensified in Winnipeg. Whenever fascists convened meetings, they were promptly smashed up. Sometimes the RCMP had to be called in to 'restore order', while other times meetings would get banned before the clashes even had the chance to erupt. But on most occasions it seemed the police worked together with the Brownshirts in heading off the anti-fascist offensives. One of the more critical battles occurred on June 5th at what came to be known as the Market Square riot. Anti-fascists armed with knives, clubs and slabs of wood torn from market stalls piled into a mobilization of CNP with devastating results. Even the subsequent newspaper reports had to conclude that "the blood-speckled Nationalists" got the worst of it. Managing to break away from the attack and run, the fascists were rescued only by truck and whisked away. Roughly a dozen of them finished the day up in hospital. According to some, this action was planned to complement simultaneous anti-fascist actions in England and France. In London, a mass meeting of Mosley's Blackshirts at Olympia Hall was confronted, although unsuccessfully. In France, meetings of Croix de Feu were smashed up. A February 15, 1934

RCMP report detailed how the CNP had to organize "protective squads" to protect distributors of the party paper – The Canadian Nationalist – from anti-fascist attacks. The CNP had been opposed primarily by a militant organization known as the Anti-Fascist League. Fascist meetings couldn't be held without the threat of 'maximum disruption'. An October 30, 1936 report indicated that an RCMP agent informed Whittaker of Communist plans to disrupt a meeting of the fascist National Workers Party. Information obtained from another report provides a unique glimpse into the effectiveness of the sustained anti-fascist campaign. "From what I can learn from several persons known to me as strong Fascist sympathizers, Whittaker has not more than fifty supporters in the CNP in Winnipeg. One man, a very ardent supporter and who continually wears a brown shirt with a swastika emblem, states that Whittaker lost face after the affair in the Market Square, Winnipeg some time ago when he ran away, leaving his faithful to face a lot of Jews and Communists. Also when the Communists smashed into a German Hall on McGregor Avenue two years ago. Since then his German supporters fell away so that at one time he had only 14 active members and a few sympathizers." (see *Secret Report re: Canadian Nationalist Party to RCMP "D" Division*, Winnipeg, March 15 1938)

Meanwhile in Quebec, the provincial Conservatives – led by Maurice Duplessis and some dissident Liberals – had formed a new party called the Union Nationale. Arcand claimed to be one of its founders and was at least its first publicist. This provided a good climate for Arcand. However, his fascist movement looked as though its only chance was to bunk up with the CNP and unify their respective shambles nationally. In 1937, Arcand moved to Toronto where anti-Jewish attacks were peaking. His sights were now trained on Communism, which had been scorched into the public mind as being synonymous with Jews. Before long, Arcand issued statements to the press announcing the formation of a national party – the National Unity Party – an alliance with the Winnipeg and Toronto CNP. The CUF, led by the rambling John Ross Taylor, were given the elbow. Arcand predicted a surge in support for his movement for 1938 but in March of that very year, Hitler stormed Austria and public opinion in Canada hardened against Hitler. Naturally, aggression also turned against the local garden variety. Fascism's hope of coming to power in Canada was battered but despite this, meetings continued; mostly organized in areas that provoked an anti-fascist response and the attentions of the media and police. The notorious 'Red Squads', police units set up to combat radical Left activity, were so busy stamping out the 'evil plague of communism' that the fascists were literally left alone. Ironically, the Duplessis government publicly maintained all along that fascism was a "mythical ruse" created by the Communists! Public opinion however, was growing increasingly hostile to the homegrown variants of Hitler. Arcand feebly tried to compensate for this by replacing the swastika emblem of his National Unity Party with a flaming torch logo. On July 4, 1938 a National Unity Party convention was held at Massey Hall in Toronto; a traditional left-wing venue. On the day, a massive anti-fascist presence turned out to demonstrate against the coalition meeting. Arcand received full cooperation from the police, in addition to protection at a motel on Isabella Street where the Montreal contingent were staying.

On September 10, 1939 Canada declared war overseas and the order was made for Arcand to cease all meetings and dissolve his organization. This order was superficial, while the group merely went

underground as propagandizing and recruiting continued. However, war hysteria set in and when news arrived of Mosley and his cronies in England being arrested, the government had to save face. Not being the most politically fashionable individuals during the war, fascist leadership were rounded up and interned. A large number of anti-fascist militants were labeled "enemies of the state" and interned amongst fascists in prison camps. The outbreak of war had served up a perfect opportunity for the ruling powers to deal a blow to left-wing activists, many of whom had been involved in physically combatting the Brownshirts along with some who had even risked their lives in Spain to stop the fascist advance.

CYCLES OF GROWTH

After the Second World War, immigration policies tightened. The Canadian government reinforced a 'none is too many' policy for Jews seeking passage into the country. As the period of internment came to an end, fascist organization made something of a 'tactical retreat'. On July 3rd 1945, a released Arcand almost immediately got back to business. But, in lack of a political base as strong as that of his prewar days, he ended up working into obscurity for Duplessis in Quebec. A further look into the post-war workings of Arcand's National Unity Party (NUPC – also referred to by its French acronym – PUNC), in relation to the reemerging fascist networks during that time, is covered elsewhere in this publication. The continuities and what otherwise gave rise to a new cycle of growth for fascism in Canada still demands looking into. Fascism was slowly building itself up in the 50s for its second wave. In English Canada, the Canadian Nazi Party and the Edmund Burke Society – initiated in 1965 and 1967 respectively – were forerunners to the rise of over a hundred far-Right groupings in the 60s and 70s. These included the Western Guard Party, the Nationalist Party of Canada and more recently, the Heritage Front. In each their own right, these groups balanced the relationship between extreme-right activity and fringe-right scheming for acceptability: claiming to be the "new radical opposition" while never straying far from being system-supportive.

Today, the hijacking of traditionally left-wing causes by the far-right to harness working class and populist anger is a real and present danger. History has shown that in the absence of a fighting alternative by and for the working class, fascism quickly moves in to occupy any abandoned turf. The climate is once again ripe for fascism to challenge the confines of its marginalization. The death of traditional party loyalties are as resounding in Canada as they are in Europe. The weakening of the Tories and the inevitable failure of the NDP means that the table is set for a shift in the political terrain further to the right. Whether or not fascists in Canada can meet the challenge they've previously set their sights on however, remains to be seen. A television documentary about the contemporary far-right in Canada aired early on in 1995, making casual mention of a 'battle for hearts and minds.'

Our challenge
still lies ahead...



THE PAST IS OUR MASTER?

A Brief History of the Far-Right in Quebec

by Eric Cartman

This is not an examination of Canada's constitutional crisis. Nor is it a comparison between French Canada and any other society. Nor is it an exploration of nationalism in the Canadian context. This article is an incomplete historical overview of French Canadian fascist and reactionary movements, from the 1930s to the present day. Incomplete, because the photogenic Nazi boneheads and picturesque Klansmen who the TV talk-show hosts love so much are hardly mentioned. These movements are important, and should be examined, but to the degree that they have roots in Quebec history it is not as boneheads or as Klansmen, but in the ranks of other organizations. The task of uncovering these roots will have to wait for another day. Other, more obscure and irrelevant tendencies are also ignored. Why the French Canadian far-right? Because French Canadian society is distinct from and separate from English Canadian society, even from Anglo-Quebecois society. The French Canadian right has worked with the English Canadian right, but it has always retained its own identity. Its history is virtually unknown outside of certain isolated milieux within Quebec, a situation which contributes to the very distorted views many comrades have regarding this province. While some seem to think that Quebec is a semi-socialist society, the most progressive in North America even, where the only "fascists" are those who oppose separatism, other observers have described French Canada as a reactionary and xenophobic backwater where a tribalistic nationalist movement is eagerly awaiting the chance to send its opponents to concentration camps. Both views are wrong, drawing excessively optimistic or pessimistic conclusions based on clearly incomplete information.

Nor is this a history of the far-right in Quebec. The history of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism, of anti-French and anti-Catholic racism, are not touched upon here, but anyone who takes this to mean that they are unimportant is fooling themselves. Likewise, the low-key activities of certain fascist expatriates are only mentioned as they relate to the French Canadian right. Again, this is not to say that fascism and racism are not problems in the Hungarian, Jewish, Romanian, Italian or any other community in Quebec, just that they are not the subject of this article.

Within Canada, Quebec stands alone. The only province with a French majority in an officially bilingual country, it is heir not only to the British conquerors of the New World, but also to their rivals from France.

The Roman Catholic Church has wielded incredible power in Quebec ever since the seventeenth century, back when white people called this country New France. The subsequent British invasion and decisive expulsion of France from the continent did nothing to lessen the Church's authority; once the bishops ordered the peasantry to obey the new British rulers their power was guaranteed. While Revolution struck down the medieval church in France, a kind of feudalism persisted here until the nineteenth century.

THE AGE OF DICTATORS

Prior to 1936, the Right was represented in both provincial and federal elections by the Conservative Party. In 1936 Quebec's provincial Conservatives merged with a corporatist splinter from the ruling Liberals to form the Union Nationale. Ideologically, the Right was represented by a number of nationalist and Catholic organizations, the most important of which being the Ligue d'Action Nationale, the Ecole Sociale Populaire, the Société St-Jean Baptiste and the newspaper *Le Devoir*.

While not homogenous, certain characteristics were common to the

entire French Canadian Right: corporatism, anti-communism, ambivalence towards parliamentary democracy and a belief in the virtues of order, hard work and religious piety. Its outlook could be summed up in the statement "the past is our master," made by the right-wing priest and historian Lionel Groulx. In the days before Auschwitz, the word "fascism" did not carry with it the same baggage it has today, and while some Rightists had their differences with this doctrine it did not suffer from the same stigma as Socialism, Freemasonry or Communism.

The 1920s and '30s were a heady time in Quebec. For the first time in its history most people lived in cities, and the industrial working class was taking center-stage. Immigration was at an all-time high. Montreal's sweatshops were full of immigrants, many of whom became radical labour organizers. An anarchist immigrant set up the Jewish People's Kitchen on Rachel Street in 1933.² Throughout this period the vast majority of Communist Party members in Quebec were of neither British nor French origin.³

These developments terrified traditionalists. As far as the Right was concerned, the immigrant communities in general, and the Jewish community in particular, were hotbeds of subversion.⁴ Several newspapers called for anti-Semitic legislation: if not expulsion, at least a moratorium on Jewish immigration and the denial of full citizenship rights. Demagogues denounced Jewish control of the Quebec economy and the

QNARRC: Quebec National Archives, Robert Rumilly Collection

CUWLAASC: Concordia University, Webster Library, Adrien Arcand Special Collection

1. It is important to note that this nationalism was not normally opposed to Confederation; it was not separatist. Deeply conservative, what was proposed was not the breakup of Canada but a more equal partnership between British- and French-Canadians. Such non-separatist nationalism is often called autonomism. For a good overview of autonomist and nationalist thought at this time, see: Oliver, Michael *The Passionate Debate*; Vehicule Press 1991.

2. Rome, David *The Immigration Story I*; Canadian Jewish Archives 1986, p. 30.

3. Avakumovic, Ivan *The Communist Party in Canada: a history*; McClelland & Stewart 1975, pp. 34-5.

4. The association of immigrants with revolutionary activism was not limited to Jews or Quebec. Following the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, crushed by the vigilante Citizen's Committee of One Thousand in collusion with the RCMP, the Conservative government passed legislation facilitating the deportation of immigrant agitators. Hundreds of labour organizers would be deported under this legislation in the years to come.

corrupt provincial government. The newly founded League for Social Credit used its newspaper *Vers Demain* to expose the efforts of Jews and Freemasons to destroy Christian civilization. Social Credit pioneer Louis Even bemoaned the fact that even were all the Jews to be exterminated, without extirpating the Jewish mentality Christians would hardly be any better.⁵ While Lionel Groulx remained indifferent towards State power, other priests like Pierre Gravel called for a right-wing revolution to set things straight.⁶

The Right's xenophobia was matched by its anti-communism. In 1930 Father J.-Papin Archambault, head of the corporatist and nationalist *Ecole Sociale Populaire*, set up a Committee of Catholic Works to coordinate the Church's anti-communist campaign. The CCW produced anti-communist propaganda, pressured the reigning Liberal government to shut down the communist Workers University⁷ and arranged for loyal Catholics to spy on left-wing meetings. While Papin's group carried out its work in public, another, secret, committee was formed in 1935 under the guidance of Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve,⁸ a man who described Communists as "poisonous, hypocritical serpents."⁹ Both committees worked closely with the government and shared with information by the provincial police. In 1937 the Union Nationale enacted the Padlock Law, making it illegal to use one's home or business to promote Communism a term that was left conveniently undefined. Premier Maurice Duplessis insisting that "it can be smelt."¹⁰

FASCISM IN QUEBEC

Anti-communism and anti-Semitism provided the manure in which fascism could grow. A number of intellectuals had been impressed with this ideology ever since Benito Mussolini took power in Italy in 1922. Journalists lauded the Italian dictator in the pages of *Action Nationale*, *le Progres du Nord*, *le Province* and *Le Devoir*, to give only a few examples.

In 1935 a young lawyer named Paul Bouchard began meeting with a few friends with the idea of launching a fascist newspaper.¹¹ The first issue of *La Nation* was published the next year; it soon became the most important fascist organ in all of Quebec. Bouchard attacked Jews, Freemasons and the English and repeatedly called for the creation of a fascist, French and Catholic State. As well as being anti-communist *La Nation* opposed capitalism, at times even tracing its own pedigree back to the French anarcho-monarchist Proudhon.¹²

At about the same time as Bouchard was preparing to launch his paper, the brothers Walter and Dostaler O'Leary set up the fascist Jeunesses Patriotes group (JP – trans: Patriotic Youth).¹³ Over the next four years the JPs would enjoy a stormy relationship with *La Nation*; sharing the same ideology and approach, competing for support in the same circles, yet unable to agree upon who should lead the movement.

Early on Bouchard wrote to Lionel Groulx, complaining that the O'Learys were trying to get him to close down his paper.¹⁴ For his part, Walter O'Leary would later claim that Bouchard's supporters had kidnapped him, holding him at gunpoint and trying to force him to sign an statement agreeing that Bouchard would be French Canada's fuhrer.¹⁵

Whatever truth there was in these mutual recriminations, the fact of the matter is that the JPs only published one issue of their newspaper, *L'Indépendantiste*, before rallying to *La Nation*. An uneasy peace lasted for a little over a year, until Bouchard purged the O'Learys, or the brothers struck out on their own, depending on who you choose to believe.

In 1936 Bouchard tried his hand at electoral

Anti-communism and

politics, running as **anti-Semitism provided** leader of the Autonomist **the manure in which** Central Committee¹⁶ in the **fascism could grow.** Montreal-St Marie riding.

Failing to get elected, his Central Committee became the Autonomist Party, modeled on Mussolini's Fascist Party. Then in 1939 he tried to link up with the short lived National Party, a splinter from the Union Nationale led by Phillipe Hamel, a committed corporatist. By 1940 Bouchard's menagerie had changed its name again: supported by a broad array of nationalist and right-wing groups, it was as a Nationalist Party candidate that Bouchard garnered 12,700 voted to Louis St-Laurent's 16,700.¹⁷

NAZISM IN QUEBEC

If Bouchard and the O'Learys were enthusiastic about Mussolini and Franco, they were at best lukewarm towards Hitler. Nazi totalitarianism was viewed with some disdain, the German threat to France with some concern and the widening breach between the Hitler regime and the Vatican with growing alarm. By the time Pope Pius XI released his encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, condemning both Communism and Nazism, most of the Right had already turned its back on the Third Reich.

The most famous exception to this broad anti-Nazism was Adrien Arcand, an occasional asset of the Conservative Party, editor of the Union Nationale newspaper *Illustration nouvelle*, and a vicious anti-Semite to boot. In the fifteen years preceding World War II Arcand published a number of rabble-rousing newspapers, each more racist and demagogic than the last. His book *Key to the Mystery* accused Jews of waging a timeless war against innocent Christians. He campaigned for their exclusion from Catholic institutions, suggesting that to truly get to the root of the problem they should be shipped off to Madagascar. He helped organize boycotts of Jewish stores, and successfully led resistance to a number of pieces of legislation that were meant to protect the Jewish community. In 1934 he founded the National Social Christian Party to put his ideas into practice. The NSCP was not only unique in its Nazism, but also in its pan-Canadian nationalism that sent it looking for allies outside of Quebec, a strategy that eventually led to the formation of the National Unity Party of Canada in 1938. (More about Arcand's pre-war activities in this issue's "Fascism in Canada: The Early Years.")

14. Ibid., p. 139.

15. *Revue Indépendantiste* #22-24 (L'indépendantisme des années trente), p. 38.

16. Oliver op cit. P. 141.

17. Robin, Martin *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada 1920-1940*; University of Toronto press 1992, p. 184.

5. "Vers un super-etat judeo-maconnique," by Louis Even, *Vers Demain* Première Année 1939-40, ed. *Vers Demain*.

6. Levesque, Andree Virage a Gauche Interdit; Boreal Express 1984, p. 128.

7. Hamelin, Jean & Gagnon, Nicole *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, Le Xxe siècle, Tome 1, 1898-1940*; Boreal Express 1984, p. 378-9.

8. Levesque op cit. p.138

9. Hamelin op cit. p.375.

10. Levesque op cit. p. 139.

11. Larose, Michele *Les Jeunesses Patriotes et La Nation: un courant politique d'extrême droite au Québec, 1934-1939*; unpublished MA thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal 1986, p. 36.

12. Oliver op cit. p.168.

13. Larose, op cit. p. 138.



blahblah...TheJews...blahblah...UFOs...blahblah...Wu-Tang Clan...

Arcand repeatedly came under attack in the pages of *La Nation*, which described him as a sellout to the British Empire whom the Conservatives supported in order to discredit authentic French Canadian fascists.¹⁸ He even came under fire from within his own ranks, several radicals defecting to Bouchard's camp in 1936. In an open letter these renegades attacked Arcand for running the PNSC on insufficiently fascist lines and being a Conservative Party pawn.¹⁹ Indeed, there was more than a grain of truth in this last accusation: throughout the 1930s Adrien Arcand repeatedly threw his support behind the federal Conservative Party, which paid him handsomely for his services. Several Tory MPs were sympathetic to the PNSC, which senator Pierre Blondin explained to Prime Minister Bennett was simply "a regenerated Conservative Party in Quebec."²⁰

At the same time as he enjoyed the good graces of the domestic establishment, Arcand was forging lasting bonds with members of the international far-right. Ironically, the most infamous of these ties the NSCP's much vaunted ties to the Third Reich ended up being the most short-lived: what with the onset of war and their subsequent military defeat, the Nazis' only real contribution to Quebec fascism was ideological, not practical. More enduring were the links Arcand forged with American, British and French racists in this period. *The Key to the*

Mystery was distributed in France by Louis Darquier de Pellepoix,²¹ future head of the Nazi collaborationist Commission for Jewish Affairs, and as such personally responsible for the deportation of 9,000 Jews to German concentration camps.²² In 1937 Arcand shared a New York City podium with numerous fascist luminaries: H.H. Beamish of The Britons, the American anti-Semite R.E. Edmonson, Silver Shirts fuhrer W.D. Pelley, German-American Bundist Fritz Kuhn, and the fascist Rudolph Markham.²³ He was to brag of this evening for decades to come, remaining in touch with some of these men for the rest of his life.

THE PATRIOTIC MASSES

There was no French Canadian bourgeoisie at this time, the Quebec economy being dominated by British, American and Anglo-Canadian entrepreneurs. Unlike elsewhere in North America, the ideological Right in Quebec was not tied to capitalism by "its own" bosses, and so tended to be loyal to the Church and the Nation more than money or the State. Not only did this allow for a certain anti-capitalist mystique, but it laid the groundwork for consensus between the moderate and extreme right-wings. The same virtues were championed and the same vices condemned. If the latter included Communism, liberalism, feminism and immigration, the former consisted of corporatism, self-sufficiency, Catholic piety and provincial autonomy. Any divergence from this formula led to marginalization within the right-wing political milieu.

The absence of any real discord between fascists, ultramontanists, corporatists and conservatives led to unity against the Left and indulgence towards the hard Right all the way up the power structure. Many businessmen enthusiastically supported the fascists, hoping that they would nip class struggle in the bud. Maurice Duplessis, the Union Nationale's charismatic leader and personal friend of many foreign investors, repeatedly declared that the only real threat came from the Communists, fascism being a chimera with which the former hoped to scare the masses.²⁴

This consensus on the Right allowed people who would today be considered "extremists" to enjoy the blessings of the elite. In 1933, when Montreal Jews organized a demonstration against the German Nazi regime, the pro-fascist Jeunes-Canada (which would later work closely with the Jeunesses Patriotes) counter-demonstrated, supported by *Le Devoir* and the right-wing nationalists from *Action Nationale*.²⁵ One year later, when interns at Hotel Dieu Hospital went on strike to protest the hiring of a Jewish resident, they were supported by Arcand, *Le Devoir*, the Societe Saint-Jean Baptiste and others on the Right.²⁶ In 1936, when a delegation from Republican Spain visited Montreal as part of a North American tour, over two thousand students took part in a pro-Franco demonstration that degenerated into an anti-Semitic riot. Bouchard, Arcand, *Le Devoir*, religious authorities and the University of Montreal student association all praised the rioters. The very next day Duplessis publicly congratulated them, noting that by opposing Communism they were following the Church's teachings.²⁷ In 1939 the

21. Ibid. p. 115.

22. Ibid. p. 116.

23. Ibid. p. 155.

24. Ibid. p. 77.

25. Betcherman, Lita-Rose *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties*; Fitzhenry & Whiteside 1975, p. 35.

26. Oliver op cit. pp. 189-190.

27. Levesque op cit. pp. 132-133.

18. Ibid., p. 183.

19. "Adrien Arcand; un Nazi au pays des siffleurs", by Ed. Bourassa on behalf of the renegades, *La Nation* 18-3-1937.

20. Robin op cit p.142.

Société Saint-Jean Baptiste circulated a petition opposing immigration, especially Jewish immigration. That same year Montreal Mayor Camillien Houde announced that in case of war "the support of French Canadians will inevitably go to Mussolini's Italy."²⁸

QUEBEC AND FRANCE AT WAR

The Second World War polarized the international far-right. On the one hand, many fascists were given real power as the German army occupied their countries. Across Europe they carried out the bloody work of the Holocaust, leading death squads and instigating pogroms the likes of which had never been seen before.

Meanwhile, in countries the Germans failed to invade the ruling classes suddenly got the jitters about their fascist guard dogs. The far-right was quickly divided into two groups: those who could be trusted and those who could not. The latter, despite their ultrapatriotic protestations, came under suspicion of treason, of conspiring with Germany against the interests of their own governments.

Arcand would later claim that he and his followers would have fought against the Axis during the war.²⁹ Like many fascists around the world, their sympathy for the Nazis would not have taken precedence over their nationalism and sense of patriotic duty. Or so he would maintain. The truth is impossible to tell, for, along with a few dozen other Canadian fascists, he was interned in early 1940.

While it is debatable whether or not Canada's fascists posed a threat to national security, the internments did send a chill through their ranks. Montreal's demagogic mayor Camillien Houde continued to speak out against conscription and found that his office could not protect him. Paul Bouchard³⁰ and the O'Leary brothers³¹ took the hint and fled to Latin America.

Anti-militarism was widespread in Quebec during the war. Outrage over conscription imposed by a federal Liberal government that had been elected after promising only voluntary enlistment and the feeling that this was just another imperialist conflict should not be confused with sympathy for fascism. Nevertheless, an atmosphere did exist in which anti-democratic sentiments flourished.

Even on the Right there was very little actual support for the Nazis. Between 1937, when Pope Pius XI condemned both Nazism and Communism, and 1940, when Germany invaded France, most had distanced themselves from Nazism. To oppose Hitler did not mean rejecting fascism, though. Spain's Franco and Portugal's Salazar still figured prominently in the Right's pantheon of heroes. They were joined in short order by Field Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain, who, following the invasion of France in 1942, established an authoritarian dictatorship in Vichy and sued for peace with the Germans.

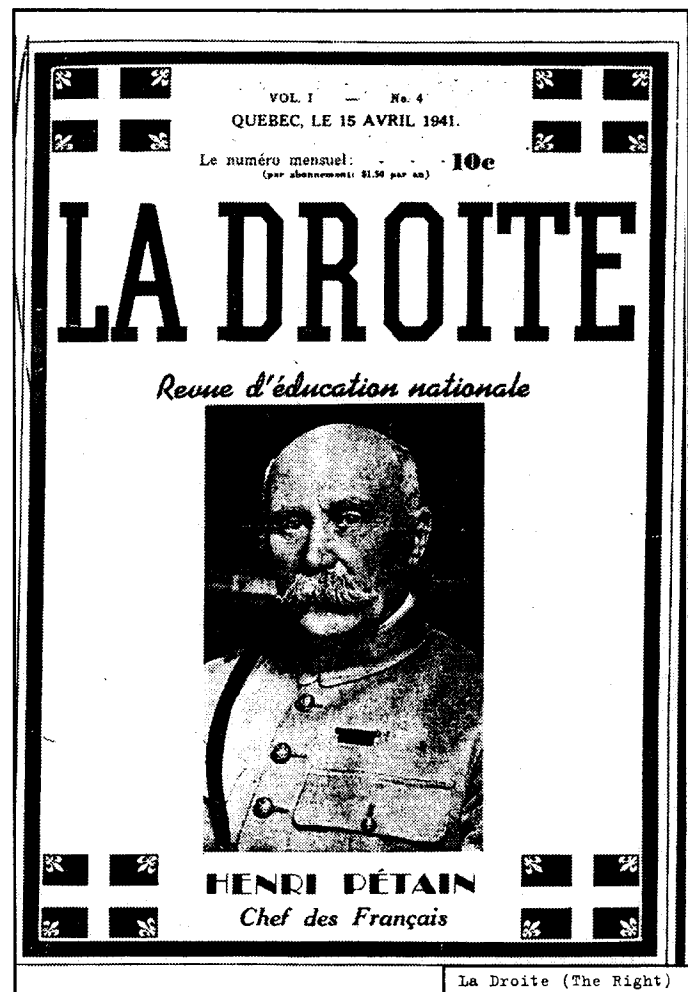
A hero of World War I, to his defenders Petain was a brave and noble patriot, under whose benevolent command a slice of France remained free from German control. In truth, Vichy was a collaborationist regime. While not national-socialist, it was an authoritarian Catholic dictatorship, more than willing to help the Nazis to exterminate "undesirables." Under Petain's command over 80,000 "enemies of the Reich", the overwhelming majority of whom were Jewish, were sent to their deaths in concentration camps.

28. "Pas Nazis, juste patriotes et corporatistes", *Commission* #1 nov-déc 1996, p. 5.

29. CUWLAASC, #538-550, "Memorandum and Request re: Claims of Canadian Nationalists against the Government of Canada for unjust internments" 1957.

30. *Revue Independentiste* #22-24 (L'indépendantisme des années trente), p.4

31. *Ibid.*, p. 39.



To many right-wingers, the German invasion represented a unique opportunity to get rid of the legacy of the French Revolution. *Le Devoir* published articles attacking the Free French (as those who resisted fascism under the command of General de Gaulle were known), many of whom it noted had Jewish sounding names. The Société Saint-Jean Baptiste refused to allow the Gaullists to participate in its annual parade. No fringe phenomenon, Petainist sympathies were widespread: in 1942 an opinion poll revealed that three quarters of Quebecers approved of what they knew of the Field Marshal's policies.³² Among political moderates the widely subscribed to view was that de Gaulle was the sword and Petain the shield, both playing necessary roles in the defence of France. Given that Canada maintained diplomatic relations with both Vichy and the Free French until late 1942, it was possible to love Petain and still claim to support the Allied cause.

In 1941 a particularly virulent Petainist newspaper called *La Droite* (trans: The Right) was launched. It proclaimed that "the 'Real France', the France of St. Louis and Joan of Arc, of corporations and crusades, has cast its filthy republican anti-clerical secular clothing into the dirty laundry bin, in order to rediscover, under the guidance of the glorious Marshal, that traditional and Christian and radiant face that it used to have"³³ In one editorial *La Droite* praised the Rumanian Iron Guard as a nationalist alternative to both the Nazis and the Communists, one that

32. Lavertu, Yves *The de Bernonville Affair*; Robert Davies Publishing 1995, p. 41.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

Clearly right-wing and racist

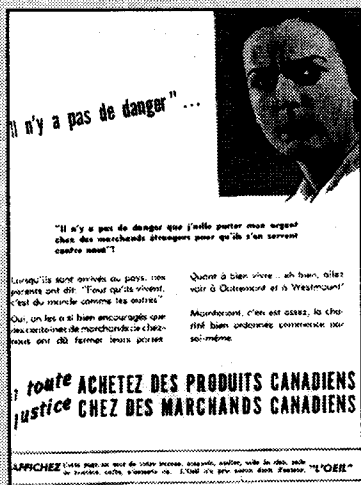
from its very first issue in 1941, some may argue that *l'Oeil* was standard for right-wing newspapers of that period. Yet throughout the forties *l'Oeil* seemed to become more and more vituperative, denouncing some enemy of the people in every issue, be it communists, Freemasons, Jews or Jehovah's Witnesses. For years, every issue came with a cut-out sign proclaiming support for the Achat Chez Nous movement, which encouraged consumers to boycott foreign-made goods as well as stores owned by "foreigners" (i.e. immigrants).

L'Oeil published declarations by Field Marshal Petain, Vichy's President Laval and the Nazi poet Robert Brassilach. Whenever a war criminal was put on trial the magazine's "experts" would become almost apoplectic with indignation. While Vichy was always described as a reasonable and legitimate government, de Gaulle's republic was accused of being a pro-communist, pro-British dictatorship, honeycombed by the sinister tentacles of international Freemasonry. One of *l'Oeil*'s chief apologists for European fascism and collaboration near the end of the war was Rene Belleau, one of those members of Adrien Arcand's PNSC who defected to Paul Bouchard's camp in 1936.

In 1945 *l'Oeil* started publishing regular articles by the philosopher Louis Rougier, a native of France and an ardent Petainist. As the war ended, Rougier published a booklet arguing that the French dictator had secretly been working with England against Germany all along. The argument that Gaullism was a cover for Communism was elaborated upon at great length. After *L'Oeil* folded in the early fifties, Rougier was to publish a number of books on the pagan origins of European civilization. Later in life he would become an inspiration to the European New Right, a pagan-Nazi movement incarnated in the GRECE.

L'Oeil was always fanatically Duplessiste, one typical editorial being entitled "Duplessis will crush the Coalition of Evil." Roger Duhamel, president of the Societe Saint-Jean Baptiste and a former member of the Jeunes Canada, contributed articles very frequently. Every so often one of the leaders of the Quebec Right like Edouard Montpetit, Anatole Vanier, Paul Gouin or Esdras Minville would sign a text.

It would seem that *L'Oeil* also benefited from the collaboration of Adrien Arcand. A series of letters between Canada's most famous Nazi and his British friend Sir Barry Domville indicates that Quebec's most vicious anti-Semite worked with this magazine around 1950, but that conflicts led to his being ostracized. While no articles bear his name, a long and conspiratorial series about "The Problem of Communism" were published during this period, signed simply "XXX."



should be emulated in Canada.³⁴ Earlier that year, the Iron Guardists had assured their place in history, carrying out a pogrom in Bucharest in which between 600 and 1000 Jews were killed. Many of their victims' bodies were mutilated, hung on butcher hooks in the local meat-packing plant, branded with the words "kosher meat" and then beheaded.

While anti-Semitic and even fascist propaganda was tolerated in wartime Canada, other things were not. Later that year *La Droite* warned that French Canadians would resist the war effort if Canada ever attacked Vichy France. A few days later the RCMP closed the paper down.³⁵

La Droite was not alone. Soon after the RCMP closed it down a new newspaper, *l'Unite*, appeared. Published by the autonomists Paul Gouin, Philippe Hamel and Rene Chaloult, all of whom had been close to Paul Bouchard before the war, *l'Unite* chose as its slogan "Tradition-Family-Fatherland" which just happened to be the official credo of the Vichy regime.³⁶

Another magazine, *l'Oeil* (trans: The Eye), was launched in 1942. A "literary, political and cultural magazine", *l'Oeil* was also anti-Semitic, Petainist and fiercely anti-Communist. Its subtitle "I see everything" was reminiscent of the pro-Nazi newspaper "I am everywhere" that had been published in France and read on both sides of the Atlantic before the war. As an Allied victory in Europe seemed more and more likely, *l'Oeil* warned readers that Communists and Jews were going to take advantage of the situation to the lasting detriment of the Christian world. (For more on *l'Oeil* see sidebar at left.)

In 1942 two young fascists (Raymond Chouinard and Lauriot Hardy) were arrested for distributing a pro-Axis broadsheet during a demonstration against conscription. Upon searching the young fascists' homes police found what appeared to be a membership list of a secret, pro-Axis organisation called the Iron Guard.³⁷ At the same time, Father Pierre Gravel a fascist who condemned Jews before, during and after the war held regular politico-religious services in the crypt of his Saint-Roch church, providing what one Robert Rumilly would later refer to as a necessary counterpoint to Allied propaganda.³⁸

Vichy fell in late 1944. Petain was arrested, but many of the worst collaborators disappeared into the woodwork. All over Europe, people suddenly remembered every little thing they had ever done that could be embellished and declared an act of resistance. Collaborators suddenly became anti-Nazi conspirators. If you had turned in some Jews, it didn't matter so much if you could recall some others you had left alone. The little acts of kindness were more important than the grotesque crimes.

34. "La Politique", *La Droite* v1 #2.

35. Lavertu op cit. p. 40.

36. Ibid.

37. This list, recently unearthed by historian Esther Delisle in the US State Department archives, includes the leading lights of the Quebec nationalist movement of that era. Alongside Paul Bouchard, Lionel Groulx and Pierre Gravel, one finds the names of J.E. Gregoire, the former mayor of Quebec City who had recommended that his constituents read Adrien Arcand's pro-Nazi paper *Le Patriote*; Philippe Hamel and Oscar Drouin of the pre-war National Party; and a number of other nationalist leaders. In fact, the common thread of nationalism, rather than fascism, that connects the names on the State Department's Iron Guard list has led some to question the authenticity of the document. At the very least it is worth noting that no group by the name of the Iron Guard played any public role in the Quebec far-right at any time during the war or after it, until veterans of the Romanian Iron Guard set up shop here during the Cold War (but then that's another story.)

38. Soeur Beatrice-du-Saint-Sacrement, F.C.S.C.J. *Bibliographie Analytique de l'oeuvre de l'Abbe Pierre Gravel 1917-1941*; Ecole Normale Notre-Dame-du-Sacre-Coeur, pp. 1-2.

The silver lining was more weighty than the actual cloud.

Nevertheless, the more infamous butchers had good reason to be afraid: some were executed by the new Gaullist State, while others were given a taste of people's justice. For such gentlemen as these the time had come to make oneself scarce.

Quebec was already known to these fascists prior to Vichy. Not only had Arcand's publications been available in France before the war, but French Canadian intellectuals had travelled to Europe and met with influential French rightists. When reactionaries from France had visited Quebec, they couldn't have helped noticing that clergymen and politicians were publicly declaring their fascist sympathies. Especially well favoured was the dictatorial monarchism of Charles Maurras' *Action Francaise*; in fact, it was none other than Cardinal Villeneuve who had interceded with Pope Pius XI on Maurras' behalf when the latter was condemned for preferring political to spiritual absolutism.³⁹

As the war ended the political complexion of the Quebec Right remained virtually unchanged. To be sure, Nazism was repudiated, but as we have seen the far-right in Quebec had never been pro-Nazi, always preferring Mussolini, Franco and Salazar to Hitler. In 1945 Paul Bouchard returned from Mexico and started planning a comeback. Adrien Arcand and the other PUNC members were released from internment. Corporatist and ultramontane right-wingers continued much as before, careful now to stress the un-Nazi, "Latin" nature of their politics, dwelling less on Jews and more on Communists.

"THE PURE MUST HELP ONE ANOTHER"

Immediately following Petain's arrest right-wing networks were active across North America. In the United States one Charles Sweeney of Idaho published a booklet simply entitled *Petain*,⁴⁰ while professor Harry Elmer Barnes of New York a Nazi sympathiser who would become one of America's first Holocaust deniers⁴¹ protested on his behalf in *Crucifying the Saviour of France: France's New Dreyfus Case*.⁴² An American Committee to Free Petain was established under the leadership of George Edward Rutherford, and its plea on behalf of the Field Marshal was published in both the *Washington Star* and the *New York Daily News*.

Rutherford's communique was reprinted in *Le Devoir*,⁴³ and both Barnes' and Sweeney's booklets were made available to the public at the Montreal Municipal Library. They were placed there by one Robert Rumilly,⁴⁴ a man whose right-wing views were already well known. A French citizen by birth, and a former member of Charles Maurras' *Action Francaise*,⁴⁵ Rumilly was to become Vichy's chief apologist in Canada. In 1946 he contacted the media claiming authorisation to speak "directly on behalf of Marshal Petain."⁴⁶ When the *Social Credit*

newspaper *Vers Demain* claimed that "The clique that is prosecuting the greatest Frenchman of our time [i.e. Petain] is the spiritual daughter of that clique which delivered Joan of Arc to her executioner," Rumilly congratulated the Socreds on their insight: "You are not mistaken. From Jewry to Freemasonry by way of the [British] Intelligence Service, the same forces that are attacking Petain and Franco are the mortal enemies of French Canada."⁴⁷

The local elite encouraged Rumilly's campaign in defence of "the greatest Frenchman of our time." Dozens of prominent politicians, intellectuals and professionals signed an open letter addressed to the French ambassador, pleading on behalf of those who were now paying the price for their wartime collaboration. They protested that "trials, denunciations and executions are brutally effecting a section of the French elite" and noted that "The condemned are accused of collaborating with the victor after a legally signed armistice. Is this a crime? It is exactly what the Hungarians, Romanians, and Italians are doing today, to the benefit of the Allies. It is exactly what the leaders of our people, including the religious authorities, ordered us to do that day after the British conquest"⁴⁸ of New France.

Petain, however, was just the beginning. Over the following years several former Vichy officials made their way across the Atlantic, hoping that no one would notice as they began new lives in Canada. The ordeal of fleeing anti-fascists in Europe and relocating to the North American hinterland was eased by the generosity of powerful members of Quebec society. There was no shortage of businessmen willing to provide a job, or simply a handout, to these patriots. As one such benefactor, Jean Bonnel, would say about the protection he offered a former Nazi death squad leader, "the pure must help one another."⁴⁹

Several of these Vichyists came to the Federal government's attention in 1948, and for awhile it looked like they might be expelled. This led Rumilly, Camillien Houde (who had once again been elected to the mayor's office), Philippe Hamel and fellow autonomist politician Paul Masse to set up a Committee for the Defence of French Political Refugees. In September 1948, when the government passed an Order-in-Council allowing most of the collaborators to stay in Canada, the Committee's energies became concentrated on the one individual who the government seemed most intent on deporting: Count Jacques Duge de Bernonville.

De Bernonville was a French aristocrat who had been involved in a number of fascist organizations prior to the war, including Charles Maurras' *Action Francaise* where he apparently first met Rumilly who was also active in the group.⁵⁰ Whereas Rumilly's disgust with France's left-wing Popular Front government led him to immigrate to Quebec in 1928, de Bernonville remained, becoming active in the pro-Nazi terrorist organization *La Cagoule*.⁵¹ He was one of the first to support Petain's seizure of power in 1940, and was appointed head of the Commission for Jewish Affairs in North Africa, in charge of implementing the regime's new anti-Semitic legislation. In 1943 he was brought back to France and put in command of a regiment of the *Milice*, a death squad answering directly to the Nazis. While with the *Milice* the Count was personally involved in the torture and assassination of suspected

39. Oliver op cit. p.89; for a sympathetic fascist account see "Maurras, l' 'Action Francaise' et le Canada francais" by Pierre Guilmette, *Cahiers de Nouvelle France*, jan.-mars 1957.

40. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS11, D1, Petain.

41. Lipstadt, Deborah *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*; Free Press 1993, pp. 67-71.

42. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS11, D1, *Crucifying the Saviour of France: France's New Dreyfus Case*.

43. "Comite Americain pour la liberation de Petain" *Le Devoir* 29/8/45.

44. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS11, D1

45. Lavertu op cit p. 46.

46. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS11, D1. Rumilly was in touch with Petain, by way of his friend Maurice Vincent, who had travelled to France in 1946 and established contact with Petain's wife and lawyers (Lavertu op cit. p. 44)

47. "L'hommage d'un historien," Robert Rumilly, *Vers Demain* 15/8/1945.

48. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS9, D1/13 1947.

49. Lavertu, op cit. p. 48

50. Ibid. p. 46.

51. Ibid., p. 21.



Robert Rumilly, in obvious mourning after the Count's hasty exit

"terrorists"⁵² (i.e. members of the French Resistance).

As the Allies swept across Europe de Bernonville found refuge in French monasteries and then in Spain, where the Franco regime remained sympathetic towards fascism until the 1970s. Disguised as a priest he crossed the Atlantic to New York, from whence he contacted friends in Quebec. Arrangements were made and he crossed over into Canada, where he had no shortage of admirers.⁵³ First among his protectors was Robert Rumilly, the bond between the two men being such that Rumilly became god-father to one of the Count's daughters.

Things began to sour for de Bernonville in 1948, when he was recognized by a former member of the French Resistance doing business in Canada. Afraid of being found out, the Count approached the Canadian government in the hopes of avoiding prosecution for his misdeeds in Europe and Africa by coming clean about his surreptitious entry into the country. It did not take the Canadian government long to learn that de Bernonville had already been condemned to death in absentia by the French authorities.

On September 2nd 1948 the de Bernonville family was arrested by Immigration authorities that intended to deport them to France. Rumilly's network immediately sprang into action. Federal members of parliament and prominent lawyers were mobilized to combat the deportation order, which in no time at all was postponed indefinitely. The de Bernonville family was freed on \$5000 bail, paid by Rumilly's friend Bonnel.⁵⁴

The Committee for the Defence of French Political Refugees got in touch with fascists in France, who were themselves still reeling from the Allied victory. There was talk of inviting prominent members of the French far-right to tour Quebec, plans which eventually came to naught as none of the candidates were deemed to be sufficiently anti-Gaullist!

Newspapers like *Le Devoir*, *Montreal-Matin*, *La Patrie* and *l'Action Catholique* all supported de Bernonville, as did several Union Nationale

cabinet ministers and Conservative MPs. As a favour to Rumilly the provincial police assigned an agent from its red squad to investigate the Resistance veteran who had first recognized the Count.⁵⁵ Catholic groups across the province were mobilized, the Knights of Columbus urging Ottawa not to send "His Excellency the Count, a great Catholic Patriot, back to the French Communists."⁵⁶

Real national inequalities made it easy for right-wing nationalists to discredit the Federal government. It was deeply resented that ever since Confederation preference had been given to British immigrants, and that the cultural standards of Quebec had no influence on the Federal State's WASP-first policy. These feelings were exploited by Rumilly, who fulminated that in the Immigration Department that sought to deport the Count "the French language can only be heard during one hour in each day: that hour is seven in the morning, the hour of the cleaning ladies."⁵⁷

While Rumilly's efforts to mobilize French Canada on his friend's behalf were a smashing success, Quebec was in no position to impose its views on Ottawa. What's more, news of the Milice's atrocities and the broader Holocaust made de Bernonville seem less "pure" than he once had. Although many wanted to believe that the Petainists were simple anti-Communists, in this case overwhelming evidence of direct participation in torture and murder was too much to sweep under the carpet, and several erstwhile supporters began to back away from the cause.

The federal Liberal government just wanted the problem to go away. The Prime Ministers Office started dropping hints that it would be best for all concerned if de Bernonville would just find some other safe haven. Given the declining fortunes of Petainism in Quebec, this idea seemed more and more attractive. On August 17th 1951, deciding that discretion was the better part of valour, the Count and his family departed for Buenos Aires.

The Rumilly clique had fought hard, but in the end they were unable to win a decisive victory. Nevertheless, considering the fact that de Bernonville lived in Canada for five years and that the government did everything it could to avoid handing him over to France, it would be an exaggeration to say that the Petainists had failed. Not only was a known war criminal able to leave Canada a free man, but the controversy surrounding his case had distracted everyone's attention away from the arrival and settlement of other collaborators.

A NAZI AFTER THE WAR

Adrien Arcand was released from captivity on July 3rd, 1945. He had more than a few admirers, and a friendly notary bought him a house in Lanoraie, close to Joliette.⁵⁸ He wasted no time getting back in touch with Nazis around the world, including Sir Barry Domville and Andrew Leese who had been interned in England; H.H. Beamish in Rhodesia; G.L.K. Smith and R.E. Edmonson in the United States; and a host of anti-Semites eager to continue Hitler's work in Switzerland, South Africa and the Scandinavian countries. The pre-war international fascist network re-emerged much as before, minus a generation of German, Italian and French fellow travellers who were either in custody,

55. Ibid., pp. 78-79.

56. Ibid., p. 62.

57. Ibid., p. 68.

58. Cote, Jean Adrien Arcand: *une grande figure de notre temps*; ed. Pan-Am 1994, p. 20. It should be noted that this book is an anti-Semitic hagiography of Arcand.

52. Ibid., p. 97.

53. Ibid., p. 28.

54. Ibid., p. 60.

dead or busy scrambling to save their own skins.

It 1947 it was reported that over 500 fascists had met on Arcand's birthday to re-establish the National Unity Party of Canada (PUNC).⁵⁹ Many pre-war followers who had escaped internment and several who hadn't would end up joining. The unrepentant Nazi sought to promote his ideas through this resuscitated Party, and also through new books and speaking engagements. Indeed, it may have been at one of his lectures at Loyola College (later Concordia University) that Arcand first met a young German student by the name of Ernst Zundel.

In the first years following his release, Arcand found a sympathetic ally in *l'Oeil*, the same magazine that had trumpeted the marvels of Petainism during the war. While his name was kept out of print, other Nazi sympathisers signed their articles. Arcand arranged for his British friend Sir Domville to contribute a series of pieces on foreign and domestic affairs from a conspiratorial and anti-Jewish perspective.⁶⁰ It is difficult to say exactly what happened to the PUNC's association with *l'Oeil* like so much of the far-right's history in Quebec, this has never been investigated but correspondence between Arcand and Domville indicates that the magazine distanced itself from the Nazis around 1950.

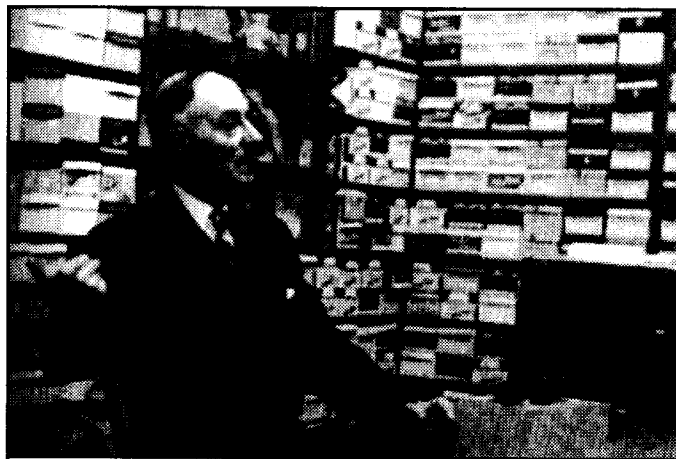
Upon wearing out their welcome at *l'Oeil*, the PUNCists began publishing their own newspaper, *l'Unité Nationale*. Predictably anti-communist and anti-Semitic, typical articles recounted the crimes of "judeo-communists", particularly in relation to labour conflicts and the opposition Liberal party. Other pieces lauded the Union Nationale, for Arcand's followers remained staunch supporters of Premier Maurice Duplessis. In one statement responding to allegations that the government was making use of these fascist allies, the PUNCists explained that "the Union Nationale has never helped our movement. We don't care what it thinks of us. Whether or not it likes our ideas won't stop us from supporting it as long as it remains what it is today: the only true Christian and National party in the provincial arena."⁶¹

At about this time Arcand began working with the Pan-Canadian Anti-Communist League, an amalgamation of Canadian and East European patriots unwilling to repudiate the legacy of the Third Reich. The League's leading lights were Pat Walsh and Ron Gostick, fervent anti-Semites and "Douglasite" Socreds, and two of Canada's first Holocaust Deniers. Walsh and Gostick are responsible for helping to maintain some Canadians sympathy for Nazism since the fall of the Third Reich. The PUNC would remain in contact with this duo, reprinting and disseminating writings from the various racist and conspiratorial groups they would set up over the years.

Arcand remained well liked and respected by sections of the establishment. He was on very friendly terms with his local MP, Remi Paul, who invited him to attend the Conservative Party leadership convention in 1963. Arcand declined, explaining that as leader of an "important political movement" (the PUNC) he could not throw his support behind the Conservatives publicly. In other words the die-hard Nazi who had once been funded by the Tories now felt that he would be compromising himself by accepting the MP's invitation!⁶² Not that he had always been so self-conscious: during the 1957 federal elections he had publicly

involved in the successful campaigns of both Remi Paul and Georges Valade. The latter thanked Arcand in a letter, writing that his support "certainly helped us to cleanse the Ste-Marie riding of the rotten liberal party politicians."⁶³

It should be remembered that some of Arcand's pre-war followers had escaped the stigma of internment and were now recycling themselves as respectable politicians. Arcand made a point of reminding the Honourable Jean Barrette of this in a letter criticizing the evolution of the Union Nationale after Duplessis.⁶⁴ One cannot help but assume that this is what the Conservative MP for the Vaudreuil-Solanges riding, J.M. Bourbonnais, was referring to when he wrote Arcand asking that he "understand that it is not always easy for me to express everything you taught us and I am often obliged to keep quiet rather than speak my mind."⁶⁵



Arcand: "Sorry, no shoes, but how about a thousand copies of *Thunderbolt*?"

Nor were politicians the only ones to keep in touch with the grand old man of Canadian Nazism. Father Georges Panneton, who had written a series of books against tomboyism and immoral dancing before the war, corresponded with him about Judaism, a field in which he (like many others) still considered Arcand to be an expert. In one letter Panneton stated that "even if you have not entered the priesthood you are nevertheless an apostle of Truth and Goodness. You have been a valiant Soldier of Christ, and you will receive your eternal reward."⁶⁶

Indeed, to some Arcand's reputation was enhanced by his wartime martyrdom. His views were sought by fascists around the world. Francis Parker Yockey looked him up and ended up staying at his home for a brief while.⁶⁷ Arcand was very impressed by Yockey's book *Imperium*, and became a backer of his European Liberation Front in the 1950s. Such support was not inconsequential as Yockey, who has been dubbed "the American Hitler",⁶⁸ failed to charm a number of important English and American fellow travellers, including G.L.K. Smith and Arnold Leese, both of whom suggested he might be Jewish and/or crazy.

Until his death, Arcand remained a player in the international racist Right. Pioneer Holocaust denier Paul Rassinier contacted him from

59. "Quebec: Fascist Revival" *Newsweek* 24/11/47.

60. CUWLAASC, #1220, #1279, #1282, #1325; correspondence between B. Domville and A. Arcand 1950.

61. "Drapeau nous honore", *Unité Nationale* p. 643.

62. Arcand collection, item #527-8, letter from R. Paul to A. Arcand with reply 2/5/62 & 5/5/62.

63. Arcand collection, item #1154, letter from G. Valade to A. Arcand 9/5/58.

64. Arcand collection, item #1142-1146, letter from A. Arcand to J. Barrette 1/8/63.

65. Arcand collection, item #1840-1, letter from J.M. Bourbonnais to A. Arcand 17/10/62.

66. Arcand collection, item #626-627, letter from G. Panneton to A. Arcand 15/3/63.

67. Arcand collection, item #589, letter from A. Arcand to Norfleet 17/11/1961.

68. "Yockey: Profile of an American Hitler" by John C. Obert, *The Investigator* Oct. 1981.

France seeking information regarding the creation of the state of Israel.⁶⁹ R.E. Edmonson referred to him as the world's greatest expert on the Jewish question. Not only did G.L.K. Smith publish a glowing tribute to him in *The Cross and the Flag*,⁷⁰ but he also tried to arrange for him to go on an American speaking tour.⁷¹ *American Mercury* magazine assured the PUNC fuhrer that anything he sent would be published.⁷² A young Colin Jordan wrote on behalf of the Cambridge Nationalist Club requesting reading materials.⁷³ From around the world, a new generation of racist and fascist "researchers" contacted Arcand to get the scoop on the latest "judeo-communist" machination.

Arcand the political leader was nothing compared to Arcand the racist conspiracy theorist. When he died on August 1st 1967 he left behind a tiny political party, leadership of which he passed on to long-time second-in-command Gerard Lanctot. Over the next thirty years the PUNC puttered on, issuing a regular bulletin (*Serviam*) and holding annual congresses, but as a political force it was a non-entity. Within the world of the alienated far-right, though, it retained some of its prestige. Father Gravel, the venerable priest of Saint-Roch, continued to address its meetings, and as late as the 1980s some of Montreal's first boneheads were said to be in the Party's thrall.

While today a spent force, the PUNC and Adrien Arcand played an important role in the development of the Quebec far-right. Not only does Arcandism define the Nazi element in the 1930s, in the decades following the war the PUNC continued to serve as a rallying point for hardcore Jew-haters. Thanks to its newspaper *Unite Nationale* as well as its leader's reputation, it managed to keep a section of the Quebec far-right in touch with developments in the United States, Europe and English Canada. At a time when many French Canadian fascists seemed more

"Who has introduced us to corporatist
Elvis Presley and his than jingoist,

crazy songs and dances? anti-colonialism than

All the radio stations, racial purity,
including Radio Canada, the Arcandists

that's who!" their hostility not only
towards Jews but also towards Blacks, Asians, liberal democracy and
socialism. In a society where many extremists would rally to the main-
stream, abandoning autonomism for separatism and sometimes even
defecting to the Left, the PUNC stood strong as a pro-Nazi, imperialist
and anti-communist reference point.

WINDS OF CHANGE

The failure of Arcand's cronies to find any political base after the war, the inability of the Petainist Right to maintain the necessary support for de Bernonville, and the growing stigma attached to the word "fascist" were small gusts of wind announcing a coming storm. The broad right-wing consensus including as it did fascists, ultramontanists, corporatists and conservatives was crumbling. The rapid decline and liberalization of the Catholic Church and the rise of a French Canadian business class forced the old Right to make peace

with democratic capitalism in the 1950s. The emergence of a left-wing nationalism in the 1960s deprived it of its final trump card. The combination of these factors, catalyzed by the death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and the subsequent defeat of the Union Nationale in the 1960 elections, is often referred to as the Quiet Revolution, and today the period before this Quiet Revolution is known as the Great Darkness.

Yet this was no Robespierrian purification, no decisive break with or extirpation of the past, but rather a process of modernization that included indeed, required the integration of the old Right into the new democratic edifice. While an examination of the political trajectories of many former fascists from this era reveals a lot about which of their youthful opinions had to be rejected and which were soluble in the democratic discourse, such is not the purpose of this essay.⁷⁴ As an examination of the far-right in twentieth century Quebec, what interests us in this period is resistance to the Quiet Revolution and reaction against it.

RUMILLY'S REACTION

Robert Rumilly was a prolific writer; a founding member of the French Canadian Academy, many of his books on Quebec history are today required reading for university students. Of course he also wielded his pen in the service of his political beliefs. He excelled at political hagiographies and partisan vilification, especially in the pages of the *Nouvelles Illustrées*, a scandal rag full of Duplessiste cheerleaders.

One of Rumilly's life-long obsessions was the supposed infiltration of Communist elements into traditional French Canadian society. As the 1950s drew to a close he was one of many rightists to latch onto the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which through the spread of television and radio was considered a dangerously powerful threat to established values. One after another journalists were pilloried for being "Communist agents" or merely corrupt opportunists. Rumilly's poison pen named names, painting a picture of Communist subversives using the national media to spread Soviet and Chinese propaganda.⁷⁵ At times the malady was as much cultural as political, as when one of Rumilly's associates asked "Who has introduced us to Elvis Presley and his crazy songs and dances? All the radio stations, including Radio Canada, that's who!"⁷⁶

Not only were his newspaper columns used to sound the alarm, but Rumilly contacted several right-wing members of parliament about his concerns. In 1958 he met with L.J. Pigeon, a sympathetic Conservative MP. Politicians like Hubert Badonai and Remi Paul were enlisted, and exposes about Communist control of the mainstream media were trumpeted in right-wing publications across Canada. Far-right red-hunters worked together to show how Communists had honeycombed government institutions. Pat Walsh contacted Rumilly to share information regarding the "Communist" activities of various journalists. The two men would correspond throughout the 1950s, Rumilly occasionally repeating Walsh's allegations in his newspaper column.

Although his journalistic endeavours failed to root out the CBC "Communists", Rumilly was not discouraged. When two priests,

69. CUWLAASC, item #623-624, letter from M.Bandi to A.Arcand 21/1/63 & 31/1/63.

70. "Arcand Canadian Nationalist a Modern Martyr" *The Cross and the Flag* Oct. 1948.

71. CUWLAASC, item #914, letter from G.L.K. Smith to A. Arcand 5/2/49.

72. CUWLAASC, item #533, letter from R. Maguire to A. Arcand 5/10/57.

73. CUWLAASC, item #1283-1284, letter from C. Jordan to A. Arcand 6/5/50.

74. It is, however, a key issue that should not be overlooked by anti-fascists. An excellent overview of the this question in regards to the Quebec nationalist camp can be found in "Pas Nazis, juste patriotes et corporatistes" and "Le nouveau visage du corporatisme quebecois: economie sociale ou controle social?" in *Commission #1* nov-dec 1996.

75. QNARRC, P303, S6, SS16/2.

76. Ibid., letter from Chanoine Donat Frechette to Remi Paul, 4/6/58.

Fathers Dion and O'Neill, publicly condemned the Union Nationale for fixing the 1956 provincial election.⁷⁷ Rumilly leapt to the defence of the Duplessis regime. Any talk of bribing or intimidating voters, of political repression or wrongdoing on behalf of Canada's greatest red-hunter, could only be Communist propaganda. Within a few months Rumilly had publicly answered the Jesuit democrats with his own *A propos d'une memoire 'confidentiel', Réponse a MM. Les abbés Dion et O'Neill*.

This literary riposte was just the beginning. Encouraged by a few of Quebec's more fascistically inclined clergy, in 1956 Rumilly called together some like-minded intellectuals and founded the Centre d'Information Nationale (CIN – trans: National Information Center). This group functioned for six years with the goal of countering "left-wing subversion" by means of right-wing nationalist renewal.⁷⁸ It was under the auspices of the CIN that Rumilly wrote his most infamous screed, *L'infiltration gauchiste dans le Canada Français*, alleging that the forces working to democratize Quebec were all part of a sinister Communist conspiracy.

In classic "elite reactionary" fashion, the CIN was never very active in the public sphere, nor did it endeavour to gain a mass following. Rather, by bringing together some of the key reactionaries of that time it attempted to coordinate a right-wing response to the budding Quiet Revolution. Its initial membership included Raymond Barbeau, Gerard Gauthier, Father Gustave Lamarche, Anatole Vanier, Andre Dagenais, Leopold Richer and Albert Roy.⁷⁹ It was supported from day one by Fr. Achille Larouche of Sherbrooke, Fr. Pierre Gravel of Boischatel and Fr. Georges Panneton of Trois Rivières. (As we have already seen, Gravel and Panneton were also very close to Adrien Arcand and the PUNC.)

CIN members were involved in a number of anti-communist, conservative, nationalist publications. Albert Roy published *Tradition et Progres* (1957-1962), Gustave Lamarche directed the *Cahiers de Nouvelle France* (1957-1964) and Leopold Richer published *Notre Temps*.⁸⁰ These journals were all notable for their elitist, Catholic and corporatist idealism not to mention their dissatisfaction with liberal democracy. Furthermore, all were nationalist in the sense that they identified with French Canada and sought to champion its national rights. Despite such similarities, each addressed a different audience and retained its own style and point of view.

Despite the participation of so many leading reactionaries, the CIN was unable to counter the forces of change. While it did have internal weaknesses, its lack of success is more likely attributable to the fragility of the power structure to which it was wed, for by this time both the Church and the Union Nationale had become giants with feet of clay. Although theoretically independent, the Centre and its ally publications had all been supporters of the old regime, and had been known to receive financial and moral support from the government. In 1960, one year after Duplessis died, his party was defeated in the provincial elections, signalling the end of an era.

In 1966 the CIN made an abortive attempt to become the "Committee for the National and Christian Unity of Quebec", and then

faded from history. For a brief while Rumilly wrote for *La Liberté*, an anti-communist and anti-separatist Catholic newspaper started by his friend Jean Bonnel (the one who had bailed out the de Bernonvilles in '48). This newspaper (whose credo was "Without Truth there can be no Freedom") did not last, and Rumilly and his reactionary friends were forced to retreat from serious politics.

RAYMOND BARBEAU AND THE LAURENTIAN ALLIANCE

If the CIN remained unimportant, one of its members, Raymond Barbeau, was to make waves and grab headlines for years to come. In 1957 Barbeau had founded the Laurentian Alliance. The most important group since the Jeunesses Patriotes to embrace separatism, the Alliance called for an independent French Catholic corporate State on the shores of the St-Lawrence. Not Quebec or French Canada, this new country would be called Laurentie.

The call for an independent Laurentian State broke with the autonomism of the traditional Right, and was severely criticized by some. Yet others were willing to give Barbeau the benefit of the doubt. Rumilly, although himself a ferocious anti-separatist, put Barbeau in touch with Walter O'Leary, who in turn sent copies of the Alliance's journal *Laurentie* to several of his friends.

Laurentie published sixteen issues between 1957 and 1962. One of its regular contributors was Albert Pinel, a former ally in Rumilly's war against the CBC "Communists."⁸¹ Another was the historian and CIN-member Seraphin Marion of the Royal Society of Canada. Gerard Gauthier, a member of the CIN and alleged PUNCist,⁸² penned a long article in its second issue, calling for a national corporatist revolution. The "Capitalist International" and the "Proletarian Syndicalist International" were both described as enemies of the Laurentian nation which "united by its French blood" was to enjoy the benevolent rule of an elite that would protect it from "atheistic liberal democracy."⁸³

Unlike others on the Right, Barbeau felt no need to attack the pro-Nazi current represented by Adrien Arcand. Despite their diametrically opposed views on so many questions, Barbeau had been charmed by *The Key to the Mystery* in 1950, and was in awe when he met its author six years later.⁸⁴ He corresponded with Arcand about Judaism's "anti-Christian and demonic"⁸⁵ nature and kept him informed about the shrinking world of the Quebec far-right.⁸⁶ Barbeau was one of the few separatists to not be attacked in the pages of *Unite Nationale*. Indeed, according to one source the Laurentian Alliance included a number of former PUNC members.⁸⁷ When fellow-CIN member Andre Dagenais criticized these associations,⁸⁸ Barbeau explained that Arcand's troops were "brave men who denounce the misdeeds of Communists, Jews, Freemasons and socialists, with the goal of

81. "La propagande communiste continue de plus belle a Radio-Canada... a nos frais," by Robert Rumilly, *Nouvelles Illustrées* 12/3/60.

82. "Du separatisme quebecois," by Jacques Bauge-Prevost, *Science Politique* #6 1969. "Alleged" because the author of this citation, himself the guru of Quebec's tiny pagan Nazi scene, disclosed this fact while "outing" several members of the Laurentian Alliance, whom he obviously considered to be rivals.

83. "Revolution Nationale", by Gerard Gauthier, *Laurentie* #102 nov. 1957, pp. 128-161.

84. CUWLAASC, item #308-9, letter from R. Barbeau to A. Arcand 17/1/56.

85. Ibid.

86. CUWLAASC, Concordia University, Item #439.

87. "Du separatisme quebecois" op cit.

88. " 'Triadisme' = 'Chretienete' ", by A. Dagenais, *Salaberry de Valleyfield* 7/8/58.

77. Dion, Gerard & O'Neill, Louis Le chretien et les elections, Ed. De l'Homme 1956.

78. "Robert Rumilly et la fondation du Centre d'Information Nationale (1956)" by Pierre Trepanier, *Cahiers des Dix*, 44 (1989), p. 238. It should be noted that the author of this article is himself a fascist.

79. Ibid., pp. 244-5.

80. "Robert Rumilly, historien engage," by Pierre Trepanier, *Action Nationale* LXXIII (sept. 1983), p. 26. See note (78) about the author of this article.



strengthening militant Catholics."⁸⁹

Yet the Laurentian Alliance was different in one important way, not only from Arcand's PUNC, but also from most other fascists in the so-called white world. As a wave of decolonization was sweeping the earth, with one after another of the old powers losing its overseas assets, the LA took the unprecedented step of identifying with the rebellious masses of the Third World, comparing Quebec to colonized nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Alliance's anti-colonialism was an important development. The traditional Right assumed that the former colonies would be drawn towards Communism. In the pages of the ferociously anti-communist *Laurentie*, decolonization was described as a good thing, and no assumptions were made about newly independent countries being left-wing.

As time passed the Laurentian Alliance opened its doors to non-Catholics, and according to some hardliners it sacrificed its right-wing ideals on the altar of political pragmatism. While remaining to the right of the political mainstream, and representing the conservative extreme within the emerging separatist movement, by simple virtue of *realpolitik* and its openness to decolonization the Alliance managed to be a lot less anachronistic than either the PUNC or the CIN. As the Liberal government of Jean Lesage (1960-1965) undertook a series of measures to modernize Quebec, the Laurentians had the least difficulty finding a place in the new political landscape. Many became members of the new Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN – trans: Assembly for National Independence), a rallying point for any and all advocates of Quebec independence. Some retained their right-wing views but others were swept along in the political tumult, forgetting about Barbeau and his corporatist fantasies, and even going over to the Left.

The Quiet Revolution inaugurated an era of modern capitalist democracy in Quebec, and groups like the CIN and the PUNC were hobbled by their close association with past. New organizations would have to grow in these new conditions.

A CONSERVATIVE SOCIALISM

If the Laurentian Alliance represented the right-wing of the "new" nationalism, the left-wing seemed to be personified by the organization Action Socialiste pour l'indépendance du Québec (ASIQ – trans:

89. "Lettre ouverte à M. André Dagenais; Des théories irréconciliables," by R. Barbeau, *Salaberry de Valleyfield* 21/8/58.

Socialist Action for Quebec Independence), its leader Raoul Roy and its journal *Revue Socialiste*. The first issue of this publication explicitly rejected the Laurentian Alliance's fascism, stating that "the corporatist State proposed by reactionary nationalists would persecute liberal Catholics as well as Quebec's non-Catholic minorities... it would kill intellectual freedom... it would fossilize the (French) Canadian nation in its backwards condition... it would freeze Quebec into a retrograde 'reserve'."⁹⁰

Predictably, the ASIQ came under fire from Robert Rumilly, who accused its members of being bolshevik subversives. In return, the *Revue Socialiste* accused Rumilly of "supporting the control of the Quebec economy by Anglo-Saxon monopolies... Rumilly is in favour of our slavery... an inveterate Petainist, an admirer of the atheist Charles Maurras, he doesn't care about slaves or serfs... Every Sunday in a colonialist neighbourhood in Montreal, a group of Hitlerite Maurrassians meets at Rumilly's. There they preach the gospel of monarchism, anti-Semitism and the hatred of France... All of this is accompanied by military songs of the Nazi SS (recorded by an American company, of course)."⁹¹

Roy and his allies clearly hated the old-guard nationalists, who in their autonomism and support for the Union Nationale were seen as having sold out the French Canadian nation. The ASIQ distributed Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* as well as books about the Spanish Revolution and numerous works by the French anarchist Daniel Guérin. Many of the *Revue Socialiste*'s denunciations of British imperialism and the national oppression of French Canada were salutary, to say the least. Its ringing endorsements of Castro's Cuba and the coming proletarian revolution seemed to place it on the radical Left.

But nothing is perfect. The new Quebec nationalism, seemingly the harbinger of progressive, even revolutionary, change, carried with it the same potentialities as the old nationalism, indeed as does all nationalism. While its xenophobic and totalitarian tendencies may be suppressed or mitigated in some situations letting its pluralistic and communitarian aspects take hold at other times national liberation becomes a mere cover for exploitation, and the patriotic framework becomes treacherous ground indeed.

Right from the beginning the ASIQ parroted the anti-immigrant line of the old-guard nationalists. In the same programme that condemned corporatism as oppressive to non-Catholics, it explained that "Socialists should recognize the right of (French) Canadian proletarians to protect their interests as workers and as (French) Canadians against the anti-worker use of immigrants to maintain low salaries and also against the use of immigrants to drown them as people." Socialists should demand a moratorium on immigration until there is full unemployment in Quebec, and then "should demand that immigrants be recruited only from those countries that are a part of the Latin civilization."⁹²

The ASIQ had a front group devoted to anti-immigrant agitation, the Ligue du main-d'œuvre native de Québec⁹³ (LMNQ – trans: Quebec League of Native Labourers). Its president Maurice Dufort dismissed

90. "Propositions Programmatiques de la Revue Socialiste", *Revue Socialiste* v1 #1 printemps 1959, p. 13.

91. "Le duplisme de R. Rumilly et l'indépendance économique," by Roger Beausoleil, *Revue Socialiste* #4 été 1960, p. 38.

92. "Propositions Programmatiques," op cit.

93. Roy, Raoul *Le Génocide en Vitesse/Lettre à Pierre Bourgault: moi aussi je m'en rappelle!* Ed. Du Franc-Canada 1990, pp. 97-101.

his opponents as "maggoty 'cosmopolitans', 'internationalist' dreamers, 'globalist' eggheads and lunatic 'mullatists'."⁹⁴ Accusing immigrants of being "footsoldiers of colonialism", Dufort denounced the trade union movement for not getting behind his racist League.

Such racism must be contextualized. Many North American trade unions had a long history of opposing immigration on the same grounds as the LMNQ. White working class organizations were the motor force behind the disenfranchisement of Asian immigrants in British Columbia at the turn of the century. Some trade unions had called for a moratorium on immigration after the war. Appeals to the "white working man" were commonplace in the nineteenth century, as are "progressive" attacks on Mexican or Korean workers who "steal our jobs" today. Depressing though it may be, in many ways there is nothing unusual about the ASIQ's early racism.

Yet it is important to note that working class organizations, even ones whose membership is predominantly white and native-born, do not automatically opt for such racism. Racist "leftists" cannot in all honesty claim that their xenophobia is "normal" or par for the working-class course (not that it would be any more excusable or benign if they could). The LMNQ was attacked by the Confederation of National Trade Unions Quebec's largest union central for scapegoating immigrants, Gerard Pelletier pointing out that the only solution to widespread unemployment was social programmes and a labour code that would apply to all.⁹⁵

The LMNQ was very short lived, but its racism would prove to be quite enduring, eventually becoming the *leitmotif* of a certain form of "hard nationalism."

The *Revue Socialiste* published eight issues between 1957 and 1963, when a lack of funds resulted in its being replaced by a mimeographed bulletin, *L'Indépendantiste*. Despite these financial difficulties, the ASIQ had an important impact on the budding nationalist Left. One of its members, Raymond Villeneuve, helped set up the original Front de Liberation de Quebec (FLQ – trans: Quebec Liberation Front), an underground organization whose activities in 1963 quickly escalated from graffiti to symbolic bombings.⁹⁶ Raoul Roy knew many of the original members of the FLQ, and has been called the spiritual father of the movement.⁹⁷

Like many socialists, Roy considered French Canada to be a "proletarian nation", and there was indeed a striking class dimension to English-French relations in Canada: in 1961 the average income of a French-speaking household was 35% lower than its English-speaking counterpart. With 27% of Canada's population, Quebec accounted for 40% of the country's unemployed, and less than 20% of the provincial economy was in the hands of francophones.⁹⁸

Yet if there was a colonial dimension to the condition of the Quebec working class, many nationalists rejected the strategy of putting social change on hold until after independence and adopted an internationalist approach. In 1965 several felquistes were arrested for supplying dynamite to the Black Liberation Army, a revolutionary American organization that was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO.⁹⁹ Then in a show of

solidarity with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the FLQ bombed the American consulate in Montreal on May 1st. Later that year Charles Gagnon and Pierre Vallières reoriented the FLQ towards class struggle, carrying out symbolic bombings in support of striking workers.¹⁰⁰ Vallières would later describe his fight as one for a "total revolution" to abolish all forms of oppression, including private property, the market economy, "and even money itself."¹⁰¹

The old-guard fascists watched as a younger generation embraced the revolutionary Left and felt vindicated in their belief that separatism led to Communism. Yet at the same time as the FLQ was reaching its left-wing limits, Roy and company were heading in the opposite direction. *L'Indépendantiste* attacked Racist "leftists" "Vallierism" and proposed an alliance of all social classes in French Canada. Socialists were "normal" or par for the informed that they should no longer support workers involved in conflicts with the French Canadian bourgeoisie. Furthermore, as "French Canada will not be able to become independent without the acquiescence of the Americans. Prior to independence and decolonization we must suppress all anti-American propaganda, no matter what its form. This means no more demonstrations against the Vietnam war on the part of separatists."¹⁰² Those who insisted on speaking out against the slaughter in southeast Asia were "playing into Ottawa's colonialist hands, either out of ignorance, treachery or stupidity."¹⁰³

RAOUL ROY'S NEO-SOCIALISM

Between 1966 and his death in 1997 Raoul Roy wrote over a dozen books and countless articles defining his "anti-colonial socialism." His ideas have a lot in common with the writings of Leftists from other oppressed nations. But taken as a whole what they resemble most are the neo-socialist doctrines developed in Europe in the thirties. The neo-socialists started out on the Left but, rejecting class struggle, they ended up opposing not only Communism but also egalitarianism, and advocating what they called "left-wing fascism." Like Roy, they eventually submerged themselves in the broader, decidedly *right-wing* fascist movement, supporting the bourgeoisie and collaborating with the Nazis.¹⁰⁴

Roy's fascist conversion did not occur overnight. Nor was he alone on this ideological journey. The ASIQ had folded in the sixties, but many of its members continued to meet. In the seventies Roy and these supporters began to publish a sporadic journal, the *Revue Indépendantiste*. Any insufficiently nationalist French Canadian was now a traitor, and all non-French Canadians who stood in the way of a unilingual, monocultural and "socialist" French Canada were attacked on the basis of their ethnicity. Roy berated so-called "soft nationalists",

100. Ibid., pp. 89-99.

101. Vallières, Pierre *White Niggers of America*; McClelland & Stewart 1971, p. 219

102. *L'Indépendantiste* #2, June 1966 p.10

103. Ibid.

104. The standard work on neo-socialism is Zeev Sternhell's *Neither right nor left: fascist ideology in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Unfortunately, Sternhell's anti-leftism distorts his argument, and he tries to claim that neo-socialism is the fascist norm, as opposed to an exception; a good antidote to this is Robert Soucy's *French Fascism: The Second Wave 1933-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1995).

94. "De Hal Banks a Gerard Pelletier," *Revue Socialiste* #4 ete 1960, p. 25.

95. "Est-ce la haine qui peut guerir?", Gerard Pelletier, *Le Travail* 26/6/59.

96. Fournier, Louis *FLQ: The anatomy of an underground movement*; NC Press Limited Toronto 1984, pp. 28-30.

97. Laurendeau, Marc *Les Quebecois Violents*; Boreal Express 1974, p. 53.

98. Fournier op cit. p. 17.

99. Fournier op cit. pp. 75-78.



rose to the defence of the Catholic Church and got up the courage to attack the United States just what he had attacked the Left for doing ten years earlier! He castigated Marxists for ignoring the fact that national struggle, not class struggle, was the motor force of history.

In fact, the only area where Roy felt he could maybe agree with Marx was regarding the need to solve the "Jewish question." Bemoaning the fact that Jews formed "a secret society devoted to self-advancement",¹⁰⁵ Roy could not help but note that "so many rootless Jews are leading the internationalist movement."¹⁰⁶ In 1979 he devoted an entire book to this subject.¹⁰⁷ He wrote that there was no one Jewish race, nation, nationality, people, culture, religion, culture or lifestyle,¹⁰⁸ the true nature of Jewishness being one of a secret society bent on advancing and protecting the interests of its members. Once again he built on the "progressive" universalism that had led certain Marxists to claim that the liberation of the Jew implied abolishing any specific Jewish identity all the while noting that Marx's gross materialism proved that he had failed to truly emancipate *himself* from the capitalistic Jewish spirit.¹⁰⁹ As always, Roy juggled this ethnocidal one-worldism with a fierce defence of French Canadian cultural specificity. This was to become a key element of Roy's "socialist" racism: the division of

humanity between "real nations" and "false nations", with the latter being obliged to assimilate into the former.

In 1981 Roy founded the Carrefour de la resistance independantiste (CRI – trans: Assembly for Separatist Resistance), which was supposed to carry out narrow nationalist and racist agitation. Like the ASIQ before it, the CRI scapegoated immigrants for the situation in Quebec. Over the next ten years the CRI affiliated with a number of very similar groups, most notably SOS Genocide and the Rassemblement pour un Pays Canadien-Francais¹¹⁰ (RPCF – trans: Rally for a French Canadian Country). Through the RPCF it was tied to the Mouvement pour une immigration restreinte et francophone (MIREF – trans: Movement for a Restricted and Francophone Immigration) and the Mouvement pour la Survie de la Nation¹¹¹ (MSN – trans: Movement for the Survival of the Nation). All of these groups took public positions and even demonstrated against "massive and suicidal" immigration. They have specified that only newcomers from "Latin" (i.e. French, Spanish, Portuguese or Italian) and Christian cultures should be allowed into Quebec.

By the late eighties Roy was openly reinventing his pedigree. In a special issue of *Revue Independantiste* dealing with the 1930s, he interviewed Walter O'Leary and Paul Bouchard, fascists of another era. If he had once denounced corporatism as medieval, intolerant, anti-working class and anti-democratic, he now described in glowing terms as a halfway point between capitalism and socialism. Roy now bragged of how he had identified with Bouchard's newspaper *La Nation*, of how much he had admired the O'Leary brothers separatist stand.¹¹²

In 1990 Roy summed up his thoughts about the Left he had once been a part of. In a book that took the form of a long open letter to Pierre Bourgault, Roy scolded the former president of the RIN for making positive statements about immigration. Halting the flow of immigrants was now top priority, coming even before independence.¹¹³ Roy also took Bourgault to task for being part of the pot-smoking, foul-mouthed, animalistic and amoral hippy crowd that had ruined the nationalist movement. According to Roy, true French Canadian patriots were at war with feminists, counter-culture types and cultural relativism. He described the Quiet Revolution as "an irreparable devastation inflicted upon our nation",¹¹⁴ explaining that the rejection of traditional values constituted a form of genocide. As if to make the nature of his "socialism" perfectly clear, Roy claimed that material poverty had been abolished by capitalism, but that cultural poverty had taken its place.¹¹⁵

By this point Roy's neo-socialism resembled the third-position fascism of the European New Right.¹¹⁶ Yet he continued to enjoy the respect and support of a number of people who agreed that history was made by national, not social, collectivities. "Respectable" nationalists like Gilles Rheaume and members of the Societe Saint-Jean Baptiste associated with Roy, as did fascists who had never pretended to be on the Left.

105. Roy, Raoul *Marxisme : mepris des peuples colonises?* Ed. Franc-Canada 1977, p. 61.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

107. Roy, Raoul *Lettre aux Juifs de Montreal*; Ed. Franc-Canada 1979.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

110. "Gagnon-Tremblay denonce la xenophobie d'un nouveau mouvement autonomiste," by Jean-Pierre Bonhomme, *La Presse* 15/2/90.

111. "Un candidat defeat du RSC militait dans un groupe d'extreme-droite," by Michele Ouimet, *La Presse* 16/12/94.

112. *Revue Independantiste* #22-24 (L'independantisme des annees trente)

113. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

114. Roy, Raoul *Le Genocide*, op cit. p. 25.

115. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

116. Indeed, he was influenced by the paganistic reactionary writings of the Cercle Ernest Renan, and corresponded with Louis Rougier of the GRECE see sidebar on *L'Oeil*. (source: "Memoires d'un monde pas encore chavire", by Raoul Roy, *Espoir* #5 hiver 1993, pp. 23, 30)

FASCISM'S SEPARATIST CONVERSION

As has already been noted, the most rabid reactionaries and fascists in the immediate post-war era were opposed to separatism. Both Robert Rumilly and Adrien Arcand feared that an independent Quebec would turn into another Cuba. Yet by the 1980s many of their ideological heirs wished to regain some relevancy, and realized that in order to do so they would have to bring things up to date. This meant not only re-evaluating the separatist movement, but also drawing upon recent developments in Europe.

This new strategy came out of a series of far-right discussion groups in the early eighties. The first of these, the Groupe d'Etudes et d'Action (GEA – trans: Study and Action Group), was initiated by Mario Gagne and Rock Tousignant in 1982.¹¹⁷ They were soon joined by Francois Dumas, formerly associated with the PUNC. The GEA was directly inspired by the GRECE, a pro-Nazi organization active in Europe that both Tousignant and Gagne had been in contact with for some time.¹¹⁸ Attracting committed rightists of various stripes, the GEA remained tiny and largely unknown, folding in 1984 when Mario Gagne and several members (including Dumas) enlisted in the CRI.¹¹⁹

Around the same time as these fascists were flirting with Roy's "socialists", Dumas remained in touch with Tousignant and began meeting with French supporters of Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National who were living in Quebec.¹²⁰ Over the next two years they toyed with the idea of setting up a Quebecois version of the Lepenist organization. As a direct result of these discussions a group called the Cercle Jeune Nation (CJN – trans: Young Nation Circle) was born. The name "Jeune Nation" was chosen as homage to a fascist organization founded by Alain de Benoist in France almost 30 years earlier¹²¹ (de Benoist is the moving force behind the GRECE).

Dumas and Tousignant were soon joined by Gilbert Gendron, a racist conspiracy theorist and treasurer of a far-right bookstore¹²² which closed its doors when its selection of Nazi and fascist literature was exposed in the media.

During its first five years the CJN functioned much like the GEA before it, as a discussion group whose ideological roots were more European than Quebecois. Disenchanted with the marginal status of the far-right in Quebec, the CJN considered the Quiet Revolution to be the greatest disaster to ever befall French Canada. Although Dumas and many other CJN members had already converted to separatism, a non-sectarian strategy of "no enemies on the right" allowed them to work closely with members of the anti-separatist far-right who remained hostile to Quebec independence.

The CJN made contact with prominent European fascists as well as official representatives of the South African apartheid government, a feat certainly facilitated by the fact that Gendron worked for a time at the South African consulate in Montreal. The CJN also made overtures towards the rump Union Nationale party, the CRI, nationalist groups,

East European anti-communists and the "funny money" Alliance for Fiscal Justice.¹²³ At the same time, again via Gendron, it entered into contact with Paul Fromm's Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform,¹²⁴ a pro-Nazi organization based in the Toronto suburbs.

In 1988 the CJN began organising speaking tours by leading reactionaries from France. Arnaud de Lassus and Michel Berger of the pro-Front National group Action Familiale et Scolaire have repeatedly spoken in Montreal, Sherbrooke, Drummondville and Quebec City under the auspices of these tours.¹²⁵ Through organizing such events the Circle came to work closely with other homegrown reactionaries, most notably Canon Achille Larouche in Sherbrooke, Society of Saint Pius X in Quebec City and Father Edmond Robillard of *Carrefour Chretien* magazine in Montreal.

It was about this time that Pierre Trepanier started working with the CJN. A great admirer of Robert Rumilly, whom he had befriended in the early seventies, as a university professor Trepanier was to prove very useful to the Circle. In 1992 he convinced his student Jean-Claude Dupuis to become the editor of its small and sporadic bulletin; Dupuis transformed it into a 40+ page highbrow journal, the *Cahiers de Jeune Nation*.¹²⁶ The first issue of this journal made headlines across Quebec as Trepanier contributed an article analysing the marginal condition of the Quebec extreme right and proposing a remedy: top on his list of suggestions was the adoption of a flexible pro-separatist line by the "national Right"¹²⁷ and the creation of a non-sectarian united front, Jean-Marie LePen's Front National being cited as an example of how this might work.¹²⁸

While this call would be enthusiastically embraced by some, others were more circumspect. When Trepanier contacted the Royist journal *Espoir* proposing an alliance of sorts, its editor replied that the true struggle was anti-colonial, not anti-liberal, and that any association with "embarrassing" right-wingers would only hurt this cause.¹²⁹ For its part, the conservative Ligue d'Action Nationale ended up expelling several CJN members due to their political beliefs.¹³⁰

The pairing of a respectable historian like Trepanier with a fascist organization surprised and shocked people who were used to only talking about the far-right in relation to boneheads. Despite calls by anti-racists for an investigation, the University of Montreal stood by its professor, maintaining that he had never used his academic position to promote his political views. Trepanier did lose his position as editor of the prestigious *Revue d'histoire de l'amerique francaise*, though this blow may have been compensated for by the free publicity the Cercle received as a result of the controversy (at least one mainstream newspaper published the group's address).

117. Ibid., p. 23.

118. C-FAR published two booklets by Gendron, *The Viet-Cong Front in Quebec*, and *The Immigration Threat to Quebec*.

119. "Quelques jalons pour l'histoire d'une organisation nationaliste de droite au Quebec," by Francois Dumas, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #3, p. 23.

120. "Bilan des Cahiers de Jeune Nation," by Jean-Claude Dupuis, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #12 sept. 1995, p. 42.

121. In the *Cahiers de Jeune Nation*'s second issue the term "National Right" is adopted instead of "extreme right" for tactical reasons. (*Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #2 p.3).

122. "Une doctrine pour la droite?" by Pierre Trepanier, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #1 avril 1992, p. 3.

123. "Une petite mise au point," exchange between Pierre Trepanier and Luc Potvin, *Espoir* #4 aut. 1992.

124. "L'Action Nationale et l'affaire Jeune Nation," by Jean-Claude Dupuis, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #6 oct 1993, p. 6.

125. "Quelques jalons pour l'histoire d'une organisation nationaliste de droite au Quebec," by Francois Dumas, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #2, juillet 1992, pp. 7-8.

126. Ibid., p. 6.

127. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

128. "Quelques jalons pour l'histoire d'une organisation nationaliste de droite au Quebec," by Francois Dumas, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #3, p. 20.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid., p. 21.

Over the next few years the Cercle kept busy despite a membership of less than a dozen. It worked with a number of right-wing and racist organizations, from Yves Menard's MIREF to Raoul Roy's SOS Genocide to Achille Larouche's Ralliement Provincial des Parents du Quebec (RPPQ). The *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* published articles by Dimitri Kitsikis, a history professor at the University of Ottawa, and Francois-Albert Angers, the grand old man of Quebec nationalism. Foreign contributors would include Michael Walker and Thomas Molnar, European supporters of the GRECE, as well as Gunther Deckert, future president of the crypto-Nazi Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland. Articles ranged from the academic (what would Jean-Jacques Rousseau have thought of fascism?)¹³¹ to the conspiratorial (an expose of neo-Soviet Communism)¹³² to the racist ("the problems of multicultural schools").¹³³

Tensions between religious-absolutist and politically pragmatic members of the CJN came to a head in 1994, causing Tousignant and Dumas to leave the organization. The two founding members would have preferred it had Dupuis paid more attention to politics and less to appearances of the Virgin Mary. For his part Dupuis, who is a follower of Marcel Lefebvre's Society of Saint Pius X, refused to bow to the politically correct prejudices of the day. With most other members of the Circle backing him up, he argued that the group should stick by its principles and speak the "Truth" even if this did discredit them among most Quebecois, including most Quebecois rightists.¹³⁴

As a direct result of this split the Circle basically fell apart, publishing one final issue of its *Cahiers* in late 1995. While some of its supporters have since been attracted to two newcomers on the scene, *Action Independantiste* and the Mouvement pour la liberation nationale du Quebec, their true home undoubtedly remains the Catholic Right.

RUMILLY REDUX: THE SECOND TIME IS EVEN BETTER!

As has already been noted, CJN guru Pierre Trepanier was a great admirer of Robert Rumilly. When the fascist historian died in 1983, Trepanier contributed a biographical lead article to the Ligue d'Action Nationale's prestigious journal.¹³⁵ It is perhaps not surprising that the programme for the "National Right" that Trepanier proposed in 1992 would be adopted lock, stock and barrel by a new organization, one that would enjoy a symbiotic relationship with the CJN and would adopt the name Centre d'Information Nationale Robert Rumilly.

Founded in 1990, this new CINRR did not seek to conserve things as they were, but rather to turn back the clock. Among its founding members were Gilles Grondin (president of the small anti-abortion group Campagne Quebec Vie), Rock Tousignant of the CJN, Father Edmond Robillard of *Carrefour Chretien* and a number of less prominent reactionaries,¹³⁶ all of whom came from the Catholic extreme right. The man-

tle of leadership fell upon Canon Achille Larouche of the RPPQ, who had himself been a member of the original CIN in the fifties.

The CINRR's main activity has been to organize lectures on topics of interest to the Right. Father Denis Saint-Maurice of Opus Dei spoke about the Church's position on population control and Jean-Claude Dupuis talked about nationalism and the United States. Jean-Claude Bleau was invited to discuss the Knights of Our Lady with CINRR members. Bleau is the North American representative of the Knights, which is a European religious organization imbued with nostalgia for Vichy.¹³⁷ Shortly after his meeting with the CINRR he joined the Circle, acting on occasion as its spokesperson.

Sometime in the early nineties the CINRR released its programme. Point for point, word for word, it was the same programme put forward by Pierre Trepanier in the first issue of the *Cahiers de Jeune Nation*. This programme is an excellent example of contemporary Catholic-Fascism in the Quebec context. The State has a "spiritual duty" to defend and promote the "Christian, Western and French" qualities of the nation, and to struggle against internationalism which "under cover of anti-racism, pacifism and tolerance" destroys nations and attacks the "spiritual mission of the West."¹³⁸

Throughout the nineties the CINRR has worked very closely with the CJN and the RPPQ worked together very closely during this period. Yet this unity has not been a sign of strength, but rather one of weakness and of overall irrelevance. While the CINRR has not yet folded, it has proven itself incapable of attracting more than a very few true believers to its programme. Its main effort at political mobilisation was to try to prevent the secularisation of the Quebec school system (see Catholic Right sidebar), and it failed miserably. To the small extent that it was even noticed, it was as a laughingstock, and to the degree that the media paid attention to its members they served as comic relief.

NEW RACISTS AGAINST FIRST NATIONS

In 1990 events transpired that provided fuel for the fire of several racist organizations in Quebec. These events would play a much more important role in the resurgence of the far-right than the high-falutin' emissions from the CJN or the archaic ideology of the CINRR ever could.

In June 1990 the Meech Lake Accord died, failing to receive the ratification of several provinces. A constitutional proposal that would have recognized Quebec as a distinct society, Meech would have also defined Canada as a nation having only two founding peoples: the English and the French. Despite the fact that there were lots of good reasons to oppose the Accord, there were also bad ones. Images of small towns throughout Canada declaring themselves "English Only", of organizations like the racist Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada mobilizing their forces, and the phenomenal growth of other anti-French fringe groups, all combined to make many French Canadians feel like a people under siege.

Nineteen ninety was also the year that Jean Ouellette, the arrogant mayor of a town called Oka, decided to cut down some trees to extend the local golf course. This drew the ire of the Native people in neigh-

131. "J.J. Rousseau, le pere du fascisme," by Dimitri Kitsikis, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #11 juin 1995, p. 14.

132. "Le communisme est-il mort?" by Gilbert Gendron, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #10 jan. 1995, p. 12. Gendron repeats the fringe Catholic line that communism will only be vanquished when Russia is consecrated to Our Lady of Fatima.

133. "Les problemes des ecoles multiculturelles," by an anonymous teacher, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #3 nov. 1992, p. 30.

134. "Dieu Premier Servi," by Jean-Claude Dupuis, *Cahiers de Jeune Nation* #10, jan. 1995.

135. "Robert Rumilly, historien engage," by Pierre Trepanier, *Action Nationale LXXIII* (sept. 1983), p. 26.

136. "Qu'est le Centre d'Information Nationale," *Nation Nouvelle*, date unknown (1993).

137. Camus, Jean-Yves & Monzat, Rene *Les droites nationales et radicales en France*; presses universitaires de Lyon, 1992, pp. 372-373.

138. "Le Centre d'Information Nationale; pour une reforme politique, sociale et nationale du Quebec," undated, Centre d'Information Nationale; for a more accessible copy of this programme see "Une doctrine pour la droite" op cit. pp. 11-12.

bouring Kahnasetake, who pointed out that the trees in question belonged to the Mohawk Nation. As Mayor Ouellette disregarded their protests, the Mohawks set up road blocks to protect their land.

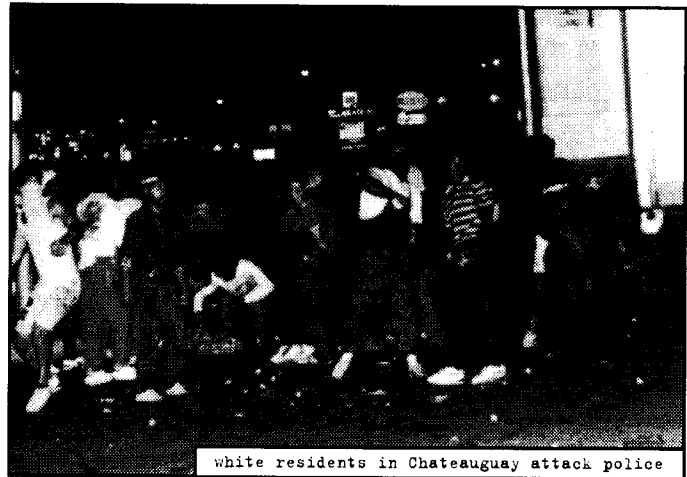
On July 11th over 100 Quebec Provincial Police officers attacked the protesters with tear gas, concussion grenades and live ammunition. In the hail of bullets QPP officer Marcel L  may was fatally wounded. The wind blew the cops' tear gas back towards them, forcing them to abandon their cars, which were promptly integrated into the Mohawk barricades. As news of the assault spread, members of the Mohawk Warrior Society took over the Mercier bridge close to the Kahnawake Mohawk community, threatening to dynamite it the police launched any more attacks.

Provincially, Robert Bourassa's Liberal Party was in power at the time, allowing the nationalist Parti Quebecois to make political hay out of the crisis. There were two obvious strategies to choose from: either attack the Liberals for oppressing Native people or accuse them of being soft on "terrorism." Under the leadership of Jacques Parizeau the PQ opted for the second choice. Calling the Warriors "terrorists", Parizeau boasted that if it were up to him the QPP would have attacked the blockade months earlier, and implied that this was all somehow a continuation of the Meech Lake anti-French campaign.

The botched raid and the seizure of the Mercier bridge signalled the rapid escalation of the crisis. The bridge was a major traffic artery linking Montreal with the suburbs of Lasalle and Chateauguay, and many people now had to commute four hours a day to get to work, a situation that brought a fiercely racist reaction to the fore. Daily demonstrations in front of the Mohawk barricades repeatedly degenerated into riots. An ex-QPP officer set up a vigilante group, Solidarite Chateauguay, in order to encourage the anti-Mohawk sentiment. The Teamsters Union local at a brewery in Lasalle offered to pay the legal expenses for a lawsuit Solidarite Chateauguay was preparing against the Mohawk.¹³⁹ Right-wing nationalist talk radio host Gilles Proulx repeatedly called for honest citizens to take action against the Indian "terrorists"; whenever Proulx would show up in Chateauguay he and his entire radio team always made sure to be wearing Solidarite Chateauguay t-shirts.¹⁴⁰ Oil was added to the fire when one protester claimed he had been called a "fucking frog" by an anglophone RCMP officer, who was also accused of making comments about Meech!

Excited racists insulted and attacked anyone who they thought looked Native, which often meant any person of colour. Some shopkeepers refused to serve supposed Natives. The worst violence broke out when residents of Kahnawake tried to evacuate their community on August 20th, just as the army was moving in. The QPP detained the caravan for hours while members of Solidarite Lasalle a copycat of the Chateauguay group gathered. When the evacuees were finally given permission to leave, they had to drive through a gauntlet of angry settlers who pelted them with stones. Over forty QPP officers at the scene did nothing to stop the attack; apart from cuts from broken glass and the trauma of the whole affair, one evacuee suffered a heart attack and died in hospital.¹⁴¹

Any increase in the general level of intolerance and demagoguery



cannot help but feed the racist Right. In Oka, Quebec's fascists found a perfect *causus belli*. Raoul Roy and former Parti Independantiste candidate Michel Larocque, who now headed Montreal's small Ku Klux Klan chapter, carried out surveillance on demonstrations in solidarity with the Mohawk Nation, occasionally even organizing small counter-protests. Larocque's group was also spotted distributing literature in Chateauguay,¹⁴² denouncing "ethnic criminality" and government leniency towards the Mohawks and ending with the exhortation: "White Quebecers and Canadians wake up!"

The nationalist Left was divided by Oka, which was first and foremost a white racist crisis. While a few groups stood by the Mohawks, criticizing the PQ for not extending its own sovereignist arguments to Canada's First Nations, far more waffled, claiming that both the Natives and the government were equally to blame. Sadly, many actually rallied to the anti-Mohawk cause, trumpeting "revelations" that the Warrior Society was involved in organized crime, was undemocratic, terroristic, etc. A "progressive" PQ supporter by the name of Robin Philpot wrote a book describing the Warrior Society as a North American version of the Nicaraguan Contras, suggesting possible ties to the CIA and the RCMP.¹⁴³ He suggested that they had been put up to engineering the Crisis in order to make the Quebecois look bad. While admitting that Native people in Quebec suffered oppression, Philpot claimed that there were better off than in English Canada. His book ends with the prediction since proven false at Stoney Point and Gustafsen Lake that Native people would never pick up arms outside of Quebec.

One did not have to be a Quebec nationalist to promote anti-Native racism, though. Hardcore federalist Francois Dallaire wrote two books following the crisis, *Oka la hache de guerre* (trans: Oka: the war axe) and *Mon sauvage au Canada: Indiens et reserves* (trans: My Savage in Canada: Indians and Reservations). Pre-conquest Native America having allegedly failed to take advantage of the continent's resources, Dallaire asked who should own the land, "The occupant, or the one who

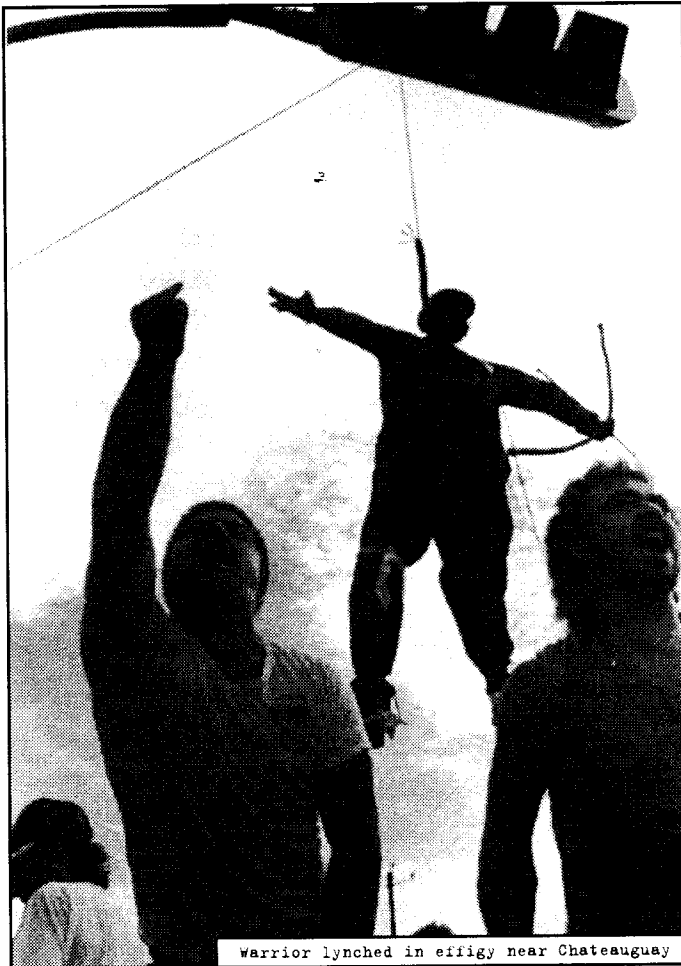
139. "Les Teamsters financeront le recours collectif contre les Mohawks," by Pierre Bellemare, *La Presse* 18/9/90.

140. Champagne, Estrelle *Les Evenements de l'ete 1990 d'Oka et de Kahnawake au Quebec: Autopsie d'une crise a travers La Presse francaise, suisse, anglosaxonne et les medias canadiens*; Universite Charles de Gaulle Lille 3 Nov. 1995, pp. 55-61.

141. Lamarche, Jacques *L'Ete des Mohawks*; Stanke 1990 pp.139-141.

142. "Le KKK est pour distribuer des tracts" by Marie-France Leger, *La Presse* 31/8/90.

143. Philpot, Robin *Oka: dernier alibi du Canada anglais*; VLB editeur 1991.



warrior lynched in effigy near Chateauguay

makes something of it? The hunter or the labourer?"¹⁴⁴ "The tricky Indians," Dallaire wrote in a subsequent opinion piece in *Le Devoir*, "profit from everything European colonization brought to America while pretending to be victims of this very same colonization."¹⁴⁵ Using specious arguments about the percentage of "white blood" in the Mohawk community,¹⁴⁶ he warned that Native people were becoming a new Canadian aristocracy.

The Crisis ended almost two months after it had begun. On September 1st the army and SQ stormed the barricades at Kahnawake and Kanehsatke; the Warriors at Kanehsatke took refuge in a building which was promptly surrounded by the military. These last resisters held out for almost four weeks; when they left the building many were beaten as they were taken into custody.

While the crisis may have ended, its scars would last for many years. Children's hockey teams from Chateauguay boycotted the Kahnawake Sports Complex, and years later Mohawk players in the Pee Wee League were still facing racial abuse, being spat upon and called "savages" when they competed with the Lasalle team.¹⁴⁷ Nor was racism limited to children: while investigating a doomsday cult prone to collective suicides, the QPP uncovered unrealized plans to set up a terrorist

organization that to Mohawks.¹⁴⁸ In 1993 some talk radio hosts were still referring to Native people as "savages", one going so far as to suggest a few French Canadians go and shoot a Mohawk because, "I know the Indians... the very minute one falls (dead) the others run."¹⁴⁹

In 1991 Roy shared his thoughts about the conquest of America. In a book whose title read "These Indigenous people we have called savages"¹⁵⁰ Native people were described as cannibals, barbarians, "savages in name and fact" who had not even managed to invent the wheel. Quoting Philpot's conspiracy theory about the Warriors being agents of the federal State, Roy indignantly insisted that Native people should be grateful that the French delivered them from their squalid pre-European existence. While Roy had previously referred to the dispersion of the francophone Acadians as a Holocaust, he now argued that assimilation and forced francisation were "the only real solution" to the Native question.

POLITICALLY INCORRECT INDEPENDENCE

An important pole of attraction for nationalists unafraid to speak their mind about immigrants, Native people and multiculturalism is the newspaper *Action Indépendantiste du Québec*, published since 1992 by Luc Potvin, former vice-president of SOS-Genocide, contributor to *Indépendance* and editor of *Espoir*.

Clearly aimed at a wide audience, *Action Indépendantiste* has concentrated on shorter, less theoretical articles than *Espoir*, yet has eschewed none of the latter's racism. Nevertheless, this newspaper has managed to garner support from mainstream, even "progressive", nationalists, including Denis Moniere, formerly of *l'Aut journal*; Andree Ferretti,¹⁵¹ a former left-wing leader of the RIN; and, Louise Harel,¹⁵² a "feminist" PQ cabinet minister. Contributors have included a number of nationalists who, like Potvin, had been close to the Royist camp since the early eighties: Aurelien Boisvert, Alice Derome and Jean Simoneau, for instance. These people may even consider themselves to be "progressives." Others contributors, like Francois Albert-Angers and Yvon Groulx, are well known for their right-wing sympathies: to give just one example, in 1993 both men tried to block the expulsion of Jeune Nation members from the Ligue d'Action Nationale.¹⁵³ Still other allies, like Rosaire Blouin and Leandre Fradet, are associated with the reactionaries from the CINRR and RPPQ.

It is shocking to see so-called "progressives" supporting a publication peddling the kind of ethnocentrism and xenophobia as one can find in the pages of *Action Indépendantiste*. Multiculturalism, "political correctness" and anti-racism are repeatedly condemned, for it is maintained that an independent Quebec must be both unilingual and monocultural. Jacques Parizeau's statements about "the ethnic vote" are defended, as is the complete work of Canon Lionel Groulx. In one article, regular contributor Michel Viau echoes a line Potvin had already advanced in *Espoir*, describing Native culture "if that is what one wishes to call it" as irredeemably prehistoric, and questioning whether or

144. Dallaire, Francois *Oka la hache de guerre*; Editions La Liberté 1991, p. 69.

145. "Indiens du Canada: les Koweitiens du Nord," by Francois Dallaire, *Le Devoir* 22/12/92.

146. Dallaire op cit. p. 59.

147. "Propose goodwill handshake before Lasalle-Kahnawake games," by Aaron Derfel, *The Montreal Gazette* 9/11/95.

148. "Oka aurait pu vivre une autre crise," by Richard Hetu and Martin Pelchat, *La Presse* 2/4/93.

149. "Radio station apologizes to aboriginals," by Alexander Norris, *The Montreal Gazette* 17/5/94.

150. Roy, Raoul *Ces indigènes susdits sauvages*; Ed. Franc Canada 1991

151. "Andree Ferretti rend hommage à Lionel Groulx," *Action Indépendantiste* v2 #2 avril-mai 1994.

152. Ibid.

153. "L'Action Nationale et l'affaire Jeune Nation," op cit. p. 7.

not such "small tribes" constitute veritable nations.¹⁵⁴ Similar garbage was expressed by Jean Simoneau, who had contributed several articles to the *Revue Independentiste* in the late seventies. In *Action Independentiste*'s first issue Simoneau wrote that Native people were trying to re-conquer Northern Quebec: "Supported by the English, the Natives could attack our hydroelectric installations. This would be used to justify the intervention of the Canadian army. A pessimistic scenario, but a plausible one nevertheless."¹⁵⁵

For his part, former very Quiet Revolutionary Jean-Marc Leger signed the editorial in the August 1993 issue, entitled "Immigration: a suicidal behaviour." Leger called for a drastic reduction in the number of newcomers to be accepted into Quebec, and a policy favouring those with "easily assimilable" Latin and francophone origins.¹⁵⁶ The RPPQ's *Nation Nouvelle* liked Leger's text so much they reprinted it in its entirety.¹⁵⁷ Many other articles in *Action Independentiste* repeat this line, which was developed by Raoul Roy way back in the days of the ASIQ, and championed in the eighties by groups associated with his CRI, such as SOS Genocide and the MIREF.

Despite, or perhaps because of, what can only be described as this Quebecois nativism, *Action Independentiste* has benefited from the generous support of the nationalist establishment. Almost all of the Societe Saint-Jean Baptiste chapters in Montreal, the Mouvement Souverainiste du Quebec and the Val d'Or chapter of the Societe National des Quebecois have contributed financially to the project. Two Bloc Quebecois MPs, Yvan Loubier and Michel Daviault, have taken out paid advertisements in thanking the paper for its work promoting independence.¹⁵⁸ Among other places, it has been distributed for free in the headquarters of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the province's most important union central.

THE BIG TENT

If Luc Potvin is a little-known racist whose newspaper has received the shameless support of a number of nationalists, his mediagenic bad-boy counterpart may be found in the person of Raymond Villeneuve, who in December 1995 founded a self-consciously "hard nationalist" organization: the Mouvement de liberation nationale du Quebec (MLNQ – trans: Movement for the National Liberation of Quebec).

It was two months after a provincial referendum on sovereignty, one that the separatist camp had come within a few thousand votes of winning. If not for immigrants and English Canadians, the sovereignty option would have received over 60% of the vote. Speaking at the "Yes" headquarters the night of the defeat Premier Jacques Parizeau reassured supporters that this was only a temporary setback, adding that the federalist camp had only won "thanks to money and the ethnic vote," a statement that sent political shockwaves out in all directions.¹⁵⁹

154. "Avant quelles elections, la prochaine crise amerindienne: federales ou provinciales?" by Michel Viau, *Action Independentiste* #6 aout-sept. 1993.

155. "Bourassa vend le Quebec?" by Jean Simoneau, *Action Independentiste* #1 sept. 1992, p. 4.

156. "Immigration: un comportement suicidaire," by Jean-Marc Leger *Action Independentiste* v1 #6 aout 1993.

157. *Nation Nouvelle* v3 #2 sept-oct 1993

158. "Les vraies couleurs du nationalisme territorial," *Commission* #2 fev-mars 1997 pp. 10-11.

159. Prior to the referendum, the troubadour Raymond Levesque had submitted a brief to the Commission on Sovereignty to the effect that immigrants should be denied the right to vote in the referendum, as "This is between the founding peoples." After October 15th nationalists like PQ Cabinet Minister Louise Harel and Bloc Quebecois MP Roger Pomerleau, to give but two examples, echoed Parizeau's statements blaming immigrants for the defeat.



Paul Biron

The "confiscated" 1995 referendum has surpassed the Oka Crisis in significance for the Quebec Right.

The MLNQ held its first public meeting on December 10th in a church basement. Addressing a crowd of almost one hundred people, Villeneuve explained that his group would fight against the English and their allies, "the neo-Canadians", i.e. immigrants. A petition was circulated calling for a moratorium on all immigration to Quebec, and fears were expressed about the "yellow menace" (i.e. Asians) descending on Montreal.¹⁶⁰

Raymond Villeneuve is no newcomer to the separatist struggle. One of the FLQ's three founding members, he was a political prisoner for five years in the sixties following an armed action in which a security guard was killed. Following his release, he spent sixteen years in Algeria and France. For a long time he was in charge of the FLQ's foreign mission in Algiers, where he worked closely with anti-imperialists from around the world. Upon his return to Quebec in the early eighties he hooked up with other former felquistes, and got involved in a number of grassroots nationalist and left-wing organizations. At about this time he became a member of the Parti Quebecois. In the late eighties he was in touch with Raoul Roy's gang, which as we have seen maintains itself in good standing with a section of the nationalist Left.

Villeneuve seems to take great pleasure in shocking public opinion. He revels in outrageous statements, for instance his claim that he regrets not killing more anglophones while he was in the FLQ!¹⁶¹ He has warned that Jews would pay the price for their community's loyalty to

160. "La ligue du vieux poele," by Loic Vennin, *Voir* 14-20 dec. 1995.

161. "Le leader du MLNQ aurait," Marc Thibodeau *La Presse* 12/7/97.



Marc-André Brie, Raymond Villeneuve and Paul Biron of the MLNQ

Canada.¹⁶² Groups and individuals that stand in the way of a "free Quebec" are either enemies or traitors of "the nation", and should, it seems, be treated as such.

In the first issue of its bulletin *La Tempête*, MLNQ co-founder Jacques Binette wrote that nationalists must "stop being indulgent, polite or tolerant towards the Canadian minority living in Quebec, but must rather cause them the most harm possible in the months to come", to teach them a lesson for opposing separatism.¹⁶³ In subsequent issues *La Tempête* would publish lists of "Canadian" businesses to be targeted in this way. Nor was the MLNQ's anger limited to small businesses: the cartoonist at a local alternative newspaper began receiving threatening phone calls after *La Tempête* published his home phone number. He had committed the sin of drawing Parizeau in a klansman's hood following the infamous comment about "the ethnic vote."

Another founding member of the MLNQ was Paul Biron. His brother is Rodrigue Biron, the former head of the Union Nationale, and a contender for the leadership of the Bloc Québécois in 1997. Paul has been active in the anti-abortion movement for several years, making a spectacle of himself at the anti-abortion vigil held by Campagne Québec-Vie in October 1997: he came with an enormous Quebec flag and explained to all who would listen that he was there on behalf of French Canadian embryos only, not being concerned with "unborn" foreigners (for more on the CQV, see Catholic Right sidebar). He has repeatedly linked the notion of a French Quebec to that of a Catholic society.¹⁶⁴ These reactionary positions didn't stop him from taking a leading role in the League, which supposedly demanded legal, economic, political, social and cultural equality for all women in Quebec. Window dressing is, after all, but window dressing.

Biron and other right-wing Catholics notwithstanding, the MLNQ drew most of its support on the simple basis of national romanticism. Many of its backers were young nationalists, often students if not student activists, who felt a visceral attraction to "radical action." These "radicals" were disenchanted with the official separatist movement, not because the latter was xenophobic or insufficiently left-wing, but rather because it had become stuffy and respectable and had lost the wild charm of the RIN and the FLQ. To such individuals the MLNQ offered a radical mystique that could easily be dressed in progressive clothing.

Indeed, over the next two years the MLNQ was repeatedly in the

news. Villeneuve's public statements in favour of vandalizing "Canadian" targets led many to suspect his cadres of being behind the wave of nationalist graffiti and broken windows in Montreal's more culturally diverse neighbourhoods. His frequent innuendoes about political violence made him a media star not only is such talk an anachronism in a province with an officially pro-separatist government, but Villeneuve seemed to take noticeable pleasure in making these statements in the public arena where they were guaranteed to grab attention.

Quite clearly, the MLNQ's strategy was to intimidate federalists into keeping quiet, or even to scare them enough so that they would leave Quebec. Members referred to themselves as "the separatist Plan B", in direct reference to the federal government's "get tough" anti-separatist approach, and liked to repeat the tried but true "101 or 401." (Bill 101 mandates French-only signs for most businesses: one takes Highway 401 to leave Quebec.)

In December 1997 the MLNQ paid the price for its self-styled radicalism. A politician with the hardcore federalist Equality Party initiated legal proceedings against the League. Claiming that his life had been threatened in *La Tempête*, Keith Henderson is presently seeking \$200 000 in damages and calling on the State to suppress the organization. A few days after Henderson set things in motion, Villeneuve made a public statement officially disbanding the MLNQ and launching a "new" group, the Mouvement pour le droit à l'autodétermination du peuple québécois (MDAPQ – trans: Movement for the Right to Self-Determination of the Quebecois People).¹⁶⁵ Even a very cursory examination of this "new" organization and its "new" publication, *La Réplique*, shows that Villeneuve is merely playing a shell game, changing the name of his outfit in order to protect it from Henderson's action. The MDAPQ is the MLNQ, nothing more nothing less.

A big tent in which all kinds of political animals are welcome, the MLNQ/MDAPQ has always attracted a diverse bunch of hotheads whose point of unity is found in putting the nation first. Inveterate reactionaries like Biron hold their noses and work with a group that puts a picture of Che Guevara¹⁶⁶ on the cover of its bulletin and publishes communiques from the EZLN.¹⁶⁷ Luc Potvin signed an article calling for nationalists to base their struggle on French Canadian culture and history rather than simple residence in the province of Quebec.¹⁶⁸ Former FLQ political prisoners Rheel Mathieu¹⁶⁹ and Jacques Larue-Langlois¹⁷⁰ have associated themselves with this movement, as has the movie director Pierre Falardeau. Jean-Marc Leger contributed to the pages of *La Tempête*, attacking the "intellectual terrorism" with which B'nai B'rith has abused the memory of Canon Groulx.¹⁷¹ Other articles were written by the pseudonymous Paul Lemoyne, who thirty years ago edited the FLQ's clandestine newspaper *La Cogne*.

BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION

While an overview of one small political current in twentieth century Quebec, this article has necessarily touched upon important historical

162. "Les Juifs anglophones au service des Canadiens," by Raymond Villeneuve, *La Tempête* #9 sept. 1996.

163. "Pour en arriver à faire du Québec un pays plutôt que de gérer un état provincial," by Jacques Binette, *La Tempête* #1.

164. "La menace des pantouffles," by J. Jacques Samson, *Le Soleil* 18/12/95.

165. "Déclaration Solennelle de Raymond Villeneuve Devant Le Peuple Québécois," by Raymond Villeneuve, *La Réplique* #1 dec. 1997.

166. *La Tempête* #10 oct. 1996 & #22 oct. 1997.

167. "Deuxième déclaration de la Realidad pour l'humanité et contre le néolibéralisme," CCRI-EZLN, *La Tempête* #17 mai 1997.

168. "Le nationalisme québécois est culturel," by Luc Potvin, *La Tempête* #22 oct. 1997.

169. Vennin op cit.

170. "A la défense de Raymond Villeneuve dénigrement et salissage," by Jacques Larue-Langlois *La Tempête* #15 mars 1997

171. "La chasse aux sorcières de l'organisation B'nai B'rith," by Jean-Marc Leger, *La Tempête* #13 jan. 1997, p. 9.

developments in Quebec. That this is so is only normal, as political movements do not exist in a vacuum and can thus only be understood in their proper context. Despite profound changes in Quebec society, the far-right has never completely vanished from the political landscape. Rather, it has displayed remarkable continuity even in those areas where it has evolved.

As we have seen, throughout Maurice Duplessis' long stay in power most of the Right was system-supportive. The Union Nationale, while never fascist, was authoritarian, anti-communist and populist, and as such was appreciated by the Right as the best government that could be hoped for. Those who like to believe that Quebec society is a reactionary lodestone within Canada would do well to remember that this government was kept in power by wealthy benefactors and large corporations, the vast majority of which were based outside of French Canada. These foreign investors loved Quebec, a land of cheap labour where cabinet ministers insisted that class "peace" reigned supreme.

The political modernisation of Quebec, on the other hand, was the result of developments within the province. To call these changes a revolution is an exaggeration, but it is true that society was altered drastically. The working class struck the first blows against the Union Nationale, in desperate strikes in the towns of Asbestos and Murdochville. Yet it was a mish-mash of intellectuals, technocrats and French Canada's small bourgeoisie that inaugurated the Quiet Revolution along with Jean Lesage's Liberal government in 1960. Despite the ravings of Robert Rumilly, these developments were not the work of Communists or outside agitators, but were a result of the French Canadian experience.

If the old far-right became fragmented and demoralized when Duplessis died, it was not because the Premier was a fascist, but simply because these fascists had supported him so vigorously. The Centre d'Information Nationale campaigned against modernity, but to no avail: the social, economic and cultural changes were such that a small group of elitist reactionaries could not turn the tide. Adrien Arcand's PUNC blamed the Jews, and retreated even further into isolation. The right-wing separatists in the Laurentian Alliance were routed, recuperated and made temporarily redundant by the more popular and militant left-wing independence movement.

If social change devastated the far-right, insufficient radicalism planted the seeds of a new fascist movement. It is a cliché that the left and right extremes of the political spectrum meet, and some may be tempted to draw this conclusion from the sad case of Raoul Roy's Socialist Action for Quebec Independence. What these pessimists ignore is the fact that Roy always represented a conservative extreme within the Left: it is only in comparison with self-proclaimed fascists like Raymond Barbeau that he looked like a revolutionary. Right from the start, the ASIQ was criticized by other leftists, for instance when it was taken to task for its attacks on immigrants. By the mid-sixties it was calling for a tactical alliance with the French Canadian bourgeoisie against all enemies of the nation, including insufficiently narrow-minded nationalists and immigrant and anglophone workers. Roy's later attacks on the Left are reminiscent of Lyndon Larouche's: the drug culture, immorality and even swearing are deplored.

In 1972, while serving time in prison for actions he had carried out for the FLQ, Pierre Vallières condemned "a fanatical nationalism" that

only served an elite who coveted greater power for themselves. He warned that "notorious fascists" were active in the separatist movement, and worried that an independent Quebec might end up resembling Salazar's Portugal more than the socialist Vietnam so many still believed in.¹⁷²

While Roy may have had few friends in the halls of power in those days, the new nationalist movement would give rise to a nationalist establishment, and in time Roy's neo-socialism would be much more influential than the ravings of Adrien Arcand. All the more insidious because of its deliberately "progressive" stance, the ideology of the CRI and SOS Genocide would slowly win over a section of the new establishment. While the Parti Québécois is no Union Nationale, each has enjoyed the support of fascists and racists, and neither ever repudiated these allies. It behooves us to remember that just as in the time of Duplessis, any such broad consensus on the Right can only have a sinister effect on the wellbeing of the oppressed, the marginalized and other "outsiders."

Quebec in 1998 is not a fascist society, but nor was it one in 1968, 1958 or 1938. Yet there have always been fascist political activists in this province, and in recent years racism has become commonplace in political discourse here. So much so, that for many it is old news, boring, irrelevant and not worth bringing up. Ex-leftists revel in accusing Native and immigrant communities of being bigoted against "old stock" Québécois. That this racism goes virtually unchallenged is shameful. Almost as bad is the fact that the racists continue to be considered on the Left.

To conclude, as I know some will, that the Quebec nationalist movement is inherently fascist, would be a grave error. Progressive nationalists helped break the stranglehold of the old Right on Quebec society. At the same time, the position that many left-wing sovereignists hold, that reactionary nationalism will somehow be defused by separation, seems to be completely unjustified. Worse, it belittles the extent and seriousness of racism in society.

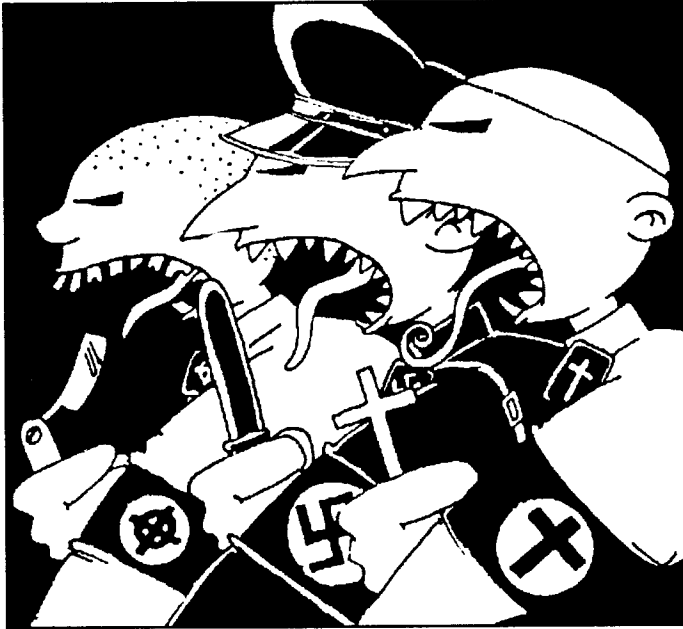
Racism and fascism will remain useful props for the bourgeoisie as long as there are oppressed and oppressors. The antidote to racist and fascist tendencies is not to be found in independence, nor in confederation, but rather in uncompromising anti-racism and anti-fascism, without any exceptions made.

172. Vallières, *op cit.* p. 227-8.

THE CATHOLIC FAR-RIGHT

an accompanying article to "The Past Is Our Master?"

by Eric Cartman



As Quebec was going through its Quiet Revolution, Roman Catholicism was going through changes of its own. Due to its own disarray, the Church in Quebec did not enter into battle on behalf of the Union Nationale. Conflicts that had been simmering for centuries were reaching the boiling point. In order to bring things up to date and resolve certain issues, the world's bishops held a series of meetings known as the Second Vatican Council, lasting from 1962 to 1965. It was at Vatican II that the Church toned down its war of attrition against the modern world. It was also here that Catholicism ceased to attack democracy as heretical, acknowledged the rights of non-believers and allowed the use of languages other than Latin in Mass.

For the first time in centuries, the Catholic right found itself alienated from official Church doctrine.

CONTRE-REFORME CATHOLIQUE AND OLD NAZIS

Adrien Arcand, while a staunch Catholic, was first and foremost a Jew-hating anti-communist, and his polemics were rarely religious in nature. After his death, however, religion began to be more and more important in the PUNC, even as the latter became tinier and tinier. Party members helped to set up a Quebec branch of the Contre-Reforme Catholique, a far-right Catholic sect led by the Canon Georges de Nantes¹ in France. The CRC is anti-communist, anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic, de Nantes' ideal political system being an absolute monarchy, and his heroes being Salazar, Franco and Petain.² He has stated that "Instead of the Masonic trilogy Freedom-Equality-

Brotherhood, the national revolution will be based on real values: Work-Family-Fatherland";³ note that the "Masonic" trilogy is the credo of the French Revolution, the "authentic" one being that of the Vichy.

With the PUNC's help, in 1970 de Nantes set up a religious community near Shawinigan. Yet within a few years a war of words broke out between the CRC and the PUNC, with some leaving the Party to stick with de Nantes. Although the latter had voiced his approval of fascism ("[a] salutary response to parliamentary democracy and the bolshevik threat"), the loyal PUNCists felt he was insufficiently respectful towards the memory of Arcand, Hitler and other patriots.⁴ De Nantes often offended the PUNCists by saying that Nazism and Communism were the same thing. The PUNCists continued to honour Hitler as a great leader of the Christian West, and accused the CRC chief of "germanophobia."⁵

Since this split, the CRC in Quebec seems to have remained small but stable. It publishes a regular bulletin, often examining the historical role of Freemasonry and other conspiracy theories. Its position on independence remains the same as the PUNC's, namely that "It is Democracy, not Federalism, that has made French Canada sick."⁶ CRC leaders, including de Nantes, have visited Canada, to speak on subjects ranging from the Shroud of Turin to the defence of Paul Touvier, a Vichy war criminal. While aware of other Catholic-fascist currents, as a group it does not involve itself in politics. Indeed, when the Cercle Jeune Nation folded in 1995 the CRC sneered that it had got what it deserved for being too democratic, remarking that the religious absolutists had won out over the political pragmatists thanks to a simple majority vote!

LEFEBVRE IN QUEBEC

While the CRC and the PUNC were both highly critical of the post-Conciliar Church, so much so that de Nantes was officially suspended from his duties as a priest in 1966, neither disavowed the Vatican. Indeed, under the present Pope's reign the PUNC has returned to its prior ultramontanism, seeing in John Paul II an anti-communist to rival Duplessis' memory!

Not all right-wing Catholics have always been so obedient. In 1975 a Montreal priest, Father Yves Normandin, was booted out of his parish at Ste-Yvettes because he insisted on saying Mass the traditional way, in Latin, despite the fact that Pope Paul VI had banned this service and substituted his own *Novo Ordo* in its place. Normandin was joined by Father J-Real Bleau, whose anti-abortion book *L'avortement* was distributed by the PUNC.

Bleau and Normandin were welcomed with open arms by a community of traditionalists hell-bent on resisting the new changes in the faith: Monsignor Marcel Lefebvre's Society of Saint Pius X (SSPX). The

1. "La C.R.C." *Serviam* v5 #2.

2. Camus, Jean-Yves & Monzat, Rene *Les Droites nationales et radicales en France*; Presses Universitaires de Lyons 1992, p. 169.

3. "Ideologie: le fascisme contre le democratie," by Joseph Algazy, *Golias* #27-28, automne 1991, p. 147.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

5. "Adrien Arcand notre maitre," by Paul Maureau, *Serviam* v8 #2.

6. "Point Final," by F.D., *Serviam* v8 #3, mai-juin 1971.

7. "Le Canada Francais et le referendum," *La Renaissance Catholique* #31 nov. 1995.

leading critic of Vatican II in France, throughout the seventies Lefebvre was to become the hero of traditionalists around the world. In his words, "The Council consummated the marriage between Church and Revolution... only bastards will be born of the adulterous union... We cannot dialogue with freemasons and communists, because you don't dialogue with the Devil!"

Lefebvre enjoyed the support of fascists around the world, including Blas Pinar's New Forces Party in Spain, Italy's MSI and France's Front National. He repeatedly made racist comments about Jews and Muslims, and was particularly incensed with the Pope's ecumenical dialogue with these non-believers. In Quebec, Lefebvrists accused the government of being controlled by Communists.⁸

The SSPX attracted Catholics who opposed multiculturalism, democracy and freedom, and were horrified that the Church was giving up its historic battle with these scourges. It eventually managed to set up twenty six Churches in Canada, eight of which are in Quebec. According to Fr. Jacques Emily, the Society's Canadian leader since 1983, roughly one thousand people regularly attend mass at these churches, and the group receives donations from three or four times as many people across the country.

Between 1993 and 1995 the Lefebvrists maintained a study group at Laval University in Ste-Foy, a favourite recruiting ground for Catholic traditionalists. The Cercle d'études des jeunes catholiques traditionalistes (CEJCT) organized lectures by far-right luminaries from Canada, the United States and Europe, including several leading members of Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National. The Cercle enjoyed the generosity of the university's chaplaincy services, i.e. free meeting space, photocopies, typing plus the prestige of being able to use the university logo on its propaganda. Many of its lectures were held on campus.⁹ These tours were often orchestrated in concert with other Catholic-fascist groups, most notably the Cercle Jeune Nation, the Centre d'information nationale Robert Rumilly and the RPPQ.

WHITE HATS, BLUE HATS

If some Catholic reactionaries were tempted by the SSPX, the CRC and other even more esoteric anti-conciliar groups, most stayed with the Church hoping to combat the Catholic moderates from within. This was the position taken by the White Berets, aka the Pilgrims of St-Michael, who are best known for their newspapers *Michael Journal* and *Vers Demain*, which have a combined press run of almost 100,000.¹⁰

The White Berets are the last remnant of the Catholic Social Credit craze of the 1930s. Social Credit is a political-economic philosophy developed by Major C.H. Douglas. It aims to harmonize class society and curb the power of bankers, the only capitalists the Major actually considered exploitative. Virulently anti-communist, Douglas was also anti-Semitic and believed that the bankers worked for a cabal of Jews and Freemasons who intended to impose world communism. Unlike fascists, who also believe such nonsense, the Creditists never attained state power anywhere in the world. In those countries where they did maintain an electoral presence the loyal Douglasites were marginalized or simply expelled. Canada was a pioneer in mainstreaming Social Credit,

probably due to the fact that Alberta elected a Sacred government in 1935, one where pragmatists and professional politicians had no intention of letting a bunch of "kooks" discredit them.

Louis Even and Gilberte Cote-Mercier were Quebec's Social Credit pioneers. In the first issues of *Vers Demain* they exposed the judeomasonic-communist conspiracy and called for the institution of Douglasite reforms. Although initially supported by a section of the clergy, eventually the Church would attack the upstarts for being too violently hostile towards the rich. Not only that, but in the words of the Archbishop of Rimouski, the Sacred plan for a universal monthly dividend to be paid to all consumers would reward sloth and encourage vice.¹¹ For his part, Adrien Arcand rejected Social Credit out of hand because he believed that Major Douglas' mother was Jewish.

Nevertheless, Mercier and Even continued to publish their newspaper and spread the good word. *Vers Demain* took part in Robert Rumilly's campaign to vilify the CBC.

Satanic conspirators in the Church had kidnapped Paul VI and arranged for an actor to take his place...

and cheered for Petain and de Bernonville. All opponents, including those who had left Even and Cote-Mercier's group to start a Social Credit political party, were accused of being in league with international Freemasonry. The group kept in touch with other hardcore Douglasites, including Pat Walsh and Ron Gostick.

In the 1960s the White Berets underwent a transformation from being a political group to being a primarily religious one. The Judeo-Masonic boogey was now replaced by a Satanic elite called the Illuminati, and it was believed that a battle to save the world was to be waged by faithful Catholics under the leadership of Jesus and his mother Mary.

In 1973 the Pilgrims entered into an alliance with the Bayside Ministry, an equally imaginative religious group led by Veronica Lueken. The Baysiders believed that the Virgin Mary spoke to Lueken, who in turn would relay supernatural revelations about what was really going on in the world.

...it goes without saying that this was all part of a scheme to destroy Christianity!

depending on your belief-system) revealed that Pope Paul VI had not really abolished the old Latin Mass and was not really tolerating liberal Catholicism. According to Lueken/"Mary", Satanic conspirators in the Church had kidnapped Paul VI and arranged for an actor to take his place. It goes without saying that this was all part of a scheme to destroy Christianity.¹² Anything her conservative followers disapproved of, could be blamed on this actor and his Satanic paymasters.

The Pilgrims devoted all of their resources to promoting Bayside, reprinting the "conversations" with the Virgin in their newspapers and making repeated trips to the Queens' World Fair grounds where these celestial meetings allegedly took place. The alliance lasted for only three years, though, for in 1978 Lueken claimed that Mary wanted all female

8. For more information about Marcel Lefebvre, see "Who the Hell is Marcel Lefebvre," *Demanarchie* v3#4. <-<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~archive/ats-l/1997.Feb/0020.html>>

9. Ibid. <-<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~archive/ats-l/1997.Feb/0020.html>>

10. Cuneo, Michael *The Smoke of Satan: Conservative and Traditionalist Dissent in Contemporary American Catholicism*; NY: Oxford University Press 1997, p. 156

11. ANQCR P303, S6, SS19, "Objet: le credit sociale" 2/4/48.

12. Cuneo op cit., pp. 159-162.

Baysiders to wear blue berets. For years the Pilgrims had been wearing white berets, and they found this new dress code to be highly unreasonable towards their female members, even if it did come from the mother of God herself. When Lueken refused to give the Pilgrims a special exemption they turned their backs on her.¹³

Nothing over the past twenty years has been nearly as amusing as this White Beret rebellion. About one hundred Pilgrims continue to live in a religious community in Rougemont just south of Montreal, and the movement has about 2000 supporters elsewhere in Quebec.¹⁴ Their main activity consists of protesting against taxes and spreading their newspapers far and wide. Louis Even died in 1974, leaving Gilberte Cote-Mercier the group's sole svengali. Consistently anti-separatist, the pages of *Vers Demain* and *Michael Journal* occasionally include articles by Ron Gostick, the late Pat Walsh and their colleague Murray Gauvreau.

FAMILY VALUES AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

In the years following Vatican II most reactionary Catholics did not reject the Church or the authenticity of the Pope. The most comfortable place for Catholic rightists was in those movements that had received papal benediction. Seeing as the Vatican maintained that Catholic children had a right to a Catholic education, in Quebec it was to this cause that most right-wingers flocked.

Vatican II had coincided with the Parent Commission's suggestion that the Church give up control of Quebec's school system to the provincial government. Right-wingers would fight a thirty-year battle to retain control over how children are taught.

One part of this campaign has been to defend Quebec's religious school boards. This battle has finally been lost, the government instituting a linguistic system this year. Another part of the Catholic Right's gambit has been to elect reactionaries to the Catholic school commissions. At least in Montreal this strategy proved remarkably successful. In fact, the Association of Catholic Parents of Quebec has kept control of the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC) for the past three decades. Despite the conversion to a linguistic system this year, all signs indicate that these reactionaries will continue to control the new commission as they did the old.

The Association of Catholic Parents has exercised its political power through a front group, the Rassemblement Scholaire Confessionnel (RSC – trans: Confessional School Assembly). The RSC's president is Michel Pallascio, son of the ACPQ's vice-president Isabelle Pallascio. Controlled by the RSC, the MCSC has been a constant obstacle to AIDS education and condom distribution in Montreal high schools, and has repeatedly been accused of racism. In 1988 it fired an employee because of his Spanish accent. The next year, it sent parents a questionnaire asking whether they thought immigrant children should be forced to go to separate schools. In 1990 it considered punishing students who spoke languages other than French on school grounds. That same year Michel Pallascio suggested to the provincial government that it favour immigrants with "Judeo-Christian values", a statement that won him the public support of SOS Genocide, the MIREF and the Mouvement pour la Survie

de la Nation.¹⁵ Pallascio reiterated these remarks in 1996, stating that the Judeo-Christian tradition should take precedence over all others because it is "a fundamental component of the heritage and collective identity of the welcoming culture."¹⁶

Hard nationalists associated with Raoul Roy's CRI and the Cercle Jeune Nation have repeatedly expressed their support for Pallascio and the RSC. Pierre Messier, an important member of the racist MIREF, was an RSC candidate in the 1994 school board elections. And, of course, the RSC is very popular with the Catholic reactionary Right. School commissioner Maurice Prevost, for instance, is also the treasurer of the Centre d'information nationale Robert Rumilly.

FOR A FRANCO-PETAINIST SCHOOL SYSTEM!

If the RSC is a model of far-right *realpolitik*, with reactionary school commissioners toning down some of their rhetoric stay in office, not everyone has opted for such a pragmatic approach. Father Achille Larouche, the same priest who worked with the Cahiers de Nouvelle France, the Cercle Jeune Nation and both the original and copycat Centre d'Information Nationales, has opted for another, complementary, strategy: that of maintaining a no-nonsense Catholic-fascist presence on the religious right.

In 1979 Larouche set up the Ralliement Provincial des Parents de Quebec (RPPQ – trans: Quebec Provincial Parents' Rally) to resist secularism, particularly in the school system. Since 1987 the RPPQ has published a newspaper, *Nation Nouvelle*, on whose masthead one can read the Petainist slogan "Work, Family, Fatherland" alongside the theocratic "God comes first." *Nation Nouvelle* has published several articles by members of the Cercle Jeune Nation and the Centre d'Information Nationale Robert Rumilly. It has also benefitted from steady support from Father Edmond Robillard and Lionel Eymard of *Carrefour Chretien* magazine.

One gets an idea of the common ground that exists between the RPPQ and so-called "hard nationalists" from the December 1995 *Nation Nouvelle* headline: "We Don't Want an Atheistic Immoral State Favouring a Suicidal Immigration." A more standard text, though, would deal with Freemasonry, secularism and the rights of Catholics. For instance this hyperbolic and longwinded headline: "It is true that we practiced NAZISM in Quebec, that we are guilty of a NAZISM worst than Communism (if this is possible), not regarding 'anglophones', but regarding our Catholic Faith."¹⁷ Other articles praise Petain, Franco and Salazar (none of whom are guilty of anything resembling Nazism). Every issue includes reprinted texts from Catholic-fascist magazines in France. Like Father Larouche himself, the RPPQ opposes abortion, democracy, sex education and the "invasion" of Quebec by "non-assimilable" immigrants.

"PRO-LIFE"

Although most religious reactionaries have concentrated on the school question, some have chosen to intervene in the fight against abortion rights. There is no space here to provide a history of the anti-

13. Ibid., pp. 156-8.

14. "La droite catholique au Quebec: essai de typologie," by Jean-Guy Vaillancourt & Martin Geoffroy, *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 25/1 (1996) p. 31

15. "Pallascio a de nombreux appuis chez les ultra-nationalistes," by Eric Trottier, *La Presse* 17/11/90.

16. "Pallascio pitches Judeo-Christian values," by Irwin Block, *The Montreal Gazette* 18/9/96.

17. "C'est vrai que nous avons pratique le NAZISME" by Achille Larouche, *Nation Nouvelle* v1 #10 juin-juillet 1990, p. 2.

abortion movement in Quebec. A few points, however, are worth mentioning.

The nationalist movement in the sixties and seventies included a number of strong feminists. Regardless of their subsequent political journeys, this did help establish the same kind of basic opposition to sexism and support for feminism within the nationalist camp.

As in so many other progressive movements, though, this anti-sexism was often mere tokenism. Another dimension of nationalist discourse, the concern with the French Canadian birthrate, was intrinsically at odds with the individualistic right of a woman to control her own body. Predictably, this led some nationalists to accuse pro-choice women of betraying the interests of the nation. In the mid-eighties Reggie Chartrand, a famous streetfighter from the RIN/FLQ era, epitomised this misogyny in a booklet entitled *God is a Man because He is Good and Strong! The revolt of a man against feminism*. With the help of lawyers from the far-right Association des juristes catholiques du Quebec (trans. Quebec Association of Catholic Jurists), Chartrand initiated a lawsuit against Doctor Henry Morgentaler, Canada's most famous abortion provider. Although his legal action would fail, along with his scandalous booklet it guaranteed that him a place as the most infamous example of contemporary nationalist-Catholic co-operation.

Today, the chief opponent of abortion in Quebec is Gilles Grondin, a former associate of the World Anti-Communist League and founding member of the Centre d'information nationale Robert Rumilly. Grondin's group is called Campagne Quebec-Vie (CQV); it is a member of the pan-Canadian Campaign Life Coalition (CLC). Apart from lobbying the government, the CQV's main activity is organizing annual anti-abortion vigils in conjunction with other members of the CLC. In Montreal these vigils are attended by members of the Saint-Paul Latin Community, the MLNQ and other similar groups.

The CQV's newspaper, *Vitality*, has advertised conferences organized by the Jeune Nation/RPPQ network. Articles have purported to "expose" conspiracies of Freemasons, one-worlders and others bent on destroying Christian civilization. The CQV's brief to the PQ's Commission on Independence argued that there was an international conspiracy to destroy traditional Quebec society by encouraging high immigration and reducing the French Canadian birthrate.

LE LYS BLANC

Unique among Quebec's Catholic-fascist publications for its fanzine-like quality, Louis-Michel Guilbault's *Lys Blanc* combined monarchism, Lefebvism, anti-Semitism and in-your-face fascism. Published irregularly between 1994 and 1996, almost all of the articles were written by Guilbault. He exposed what he saw as the Jewish, pagan and homosexual nature of Nazism, and attacked Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National for being insufficiently Catholic and authoritarian. Another text vacillated between the absurd and the fantastic, comparing Adrien Arcand to Jesus Christ! Supplementing these original thoughts were reprints from Catholic anti-Semitic classics, exposes of B'nai B'rith and Freemasonry, and even a translated article by the neo-Confederate Southern League.

Guilbault himself is a follower of the SSPX, and even lectured to the Lefebvrist CEJCT at Laval University. It would seem that his 'zine was mainly read in the micro-world of Catholic traditionalists and the Catholic nationalist right.

The *Lys Blanc* was by no means an important force even within the

small world of Catholic fascism. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning because its politics show that the combination of reactionary Catholicism and unapologetic fascism is not a thing of the past. Furthermore, the desktop fanzineish nature of this publication, its brief presence on the internet and Guilbault's plans to produce fascist and racist CD-ROMs show how the most backwards looking ideologues nevertheless embrace the most up to date technologies. Furthermore, Guilbault's unconventional and ambitious approach make him a possible headache for tomorrow's anti-fascists.

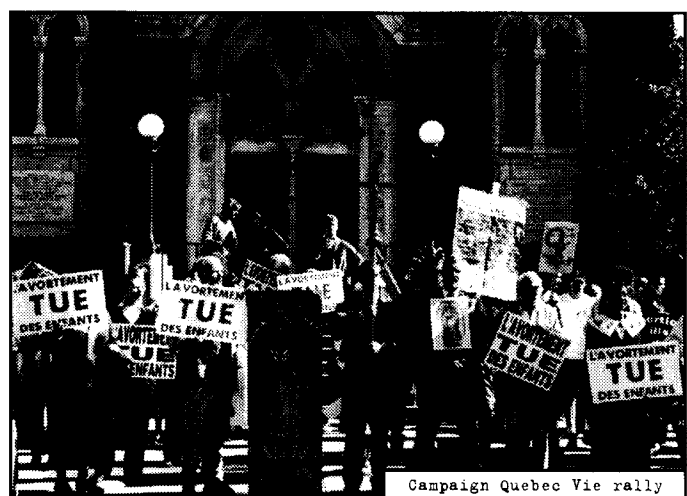
BACK FROM LEFEBVRISM

The participation of Louis-Michel Guilbault, Jean-Claude Dupuis and other fascists in the Society of Saint Pius X has already been noted. Such examples notwithstanding. It should be pointed out that at this point the majority of Catholic fascists have remained loyal to the official Church. Since the ascension of the conservative John Paul II to Peter's throne, much of the traditionalist foment has been recuperated.

A key part of John Paul's strategy was the legalisation of the old Latin Mass in 1985. The priests Yves Normandin and J.-Real Bleau, who had been deprived of their church in 1975 due to their refusal to celebrate the Vatican II Mass, returned to the fold following these developments. In doing so, they broke permanently with the SSPX. They brought with them a number of followers who were eager to return to the official Church. This traditionalist community was given its own parishional status, being known as the St-Paul Latin Community.

The return of Normandin, Bleau and their parishioners to the official Church was part of a worldwide trend during John Paul II's papacy. The SSPX was increasingly isolated, and in 1989 Lefebvre was excommunicated. Following this official rejection of Lefebvism, the Vatican established the Fraternity of Saint Peter, a special international religious Fraternity devoted to tempting members of the SSPX back to the Church. The St-Paul Latin Community is affiliated with this Fraternity.

In Montreal, some suspect the St-Paul Latin Community of including a number of racists from a variety of far-right organizations. Special services have been celebrated for dead Nazis and fascists. When European fascists come to Quebec on speaking tours organized by the Cercle Jeune Nation and the RPPQ, they have occasionally spoken at the Saint-Cunegonde Church where the Latin Community meets. Predictably, investigations have revealed that a number of the Latin parishioners have attended these lectures even when they are held elsewhere.



INTERNATIONAL MILITANT

Facing The Challenge

Anti-Fascist Forum participated in the first international militant anti-fascist conference, hosted by Anti-Fascist Action (London, England) on October 2nd – 5th, 1997. It was the first concrete step in building the necessary links to work effectively on an international level, and to ensure that the ideas and experiences of militant anti-fascists are promoted internationally. The conference consisted of a series of talks, discussions and workshops, along with a public rally. Delegates from different groups from Canada, USA, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Ireland, France and Spain were in attendance. The aim of the conference was the formation of an International Network of Militant Anti-Fascists; examining areas of work where we can co-operate, as well as learning from the different experiences in various countries.

Launch Statement

For the first time there is now an International Network of militant anti-fascists. The network is launched against the backdrop of the far right's recent successes across Europe and especially in France. As the fascists attempt to gain credibility through electoral strategies, the task for militant anti-fascists is to out radicalise them in the battle for the hearts and minds of working class communities.

We stand for the physical and ideological confrontation of fascism, and we are not fighting to maintain the status quo. We see the challenges facing us as a three cornered fight, between the militants, the fascists and the state. We recognise that the ultimate guarantee against the far right penetrating the mainstream, is a strong politically independent working class movement.

Militant anti-fascism is a single issue campaign, whose function is to first separate out those who want to fight from those who do not, and then to ensure unity amongst us, to actively combat the isolation we face in our own countries. The groups organised in the network come from a wide range of political backgrounds, but all recognise that if our common enemy is to be defeated it is what unites us, rather than what divides us that must have primacy.

The network will ensure active co-operation and communication, to enable us to develop effective strategies for combatting the rise of fascism. As the fascists and state governments organise internationally, so must we. The network currently comprises groups from 6 countries. We recognise the importance of national organisation as being essential to effective international organisation, and will work to develop militant anti-fascist networks in member countries.

Our manifesto document will be circulated as widely as possible, and we call on all militant anti fascist groups who share our understanding, aims and objectives, to affiliate to the network.



Network Members

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Castilla, Spain

PAZ

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ANTI-FASCIST NETWORK

INTERNATIONAL MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST NETWORK: MANIFESTO AND FOUNDING STATEMENT.

The spectre of fascism is haunting Europe. Having cast off the burden of the Holocaust the far-right has re-invented itself. Fascism is once again on the move. As we approach the millennium, we are witnessing a fascist renaissance.

1. REARGUARD

Fascism is the vanguard of reaction, therefore Anti-fascism is by definition a rear guard response. The re-emergence of the far-right represents a political as well as physical threat to all progressive and working class people and organisations, and other oppressed groups that are used as scapegoats by fascism. This is self evident, yet today, in many countries, the political threat is either talked down or ignored, while the physical threat is dealt with theoretically rather than practically.

2. LEGALITY

Many comfortably hide from reality by proclaiming that if the far-right of the 1990's do not resemble Hollywood Nazis in appearance or speech, they must then be regarded as harmless democrats. Consequently, only anti-racist campaigns carried out strictly within the confines of legality can be justified by way of protest. Others pretend that only skinheads are fascists, so if there are no skinheads there are no fascists and so on.

3. LOSING HABITS

The fact is the middle class Left do not want to fight and they lost the habit years ago. The struggle frightens them, so they invent excuses. Since 1945 the Left has failed the working class throughout Europe. Dogma and fake formulas caused that failure: loyalty to bankrupt doctrines in the fight against fascism simply compound the mistakes. Fascism is not the cause of the Left's collapse but the punishment for it.

4. SEPARATE

The function of militant anti-fascism is to first separate out those who want to fight from those who do not. Once that distinction has been achieved unity amongst the militants is essential.

5. COMMON ENEMY

Anti-fascism is not the appropriate political arena for ideological debate: for unravelling historic rivalries between Stalinism and Trotskyism; Marxism and Anarchism, or the choosing of sides in national or international conflicts. We have a common enemy, and if the enemy is to be defeated then what unites rather than divides us must have primacy.

6. SUCCESSFUL CHALLENGE

On the other hand the ambition of militant anti-fascism is

not just to see the threat posed by the far-right to the existing political order removed, so that the social conditions that gave rise to the threat can once again be safely ignored. On the contrary, it is not for militant anti-fascism to argue that radical change is not needed; instead our primary role is to ensure that if a successful challenge to the establishment is mounted, it comes only from the left.

7. IMPETUS OR EXCUSE

The philosophy that governs every modern bourgeois state is the ability to respond to economic cycles of boom and slump by adopting the political form compatible with the economic reality. This is the capitalist system's traditional safeguard. Reactionary arguments which manifest themselves in the propaganda and activities of far right parties serve as the impetus (or excuse) that steers the capitalist state toward a suitably reactionary haven. A fascist movement does not have to be large to achieve this effect.

8. SUBVERSIVE

Militant anti-fascism is automatically deemed subversive, if and when it threatens to deny to the ruling powers the opportunity to exercise this fascist option. Consequently these organisations are subject to all types of surveillance and dirty tricks; telephone taps and interference with mail; exposures in the media; alleged terrorist links; punitive sentences, agent provocateurs and so on.

9. CREATING SPACE

The objective of the state is to make effective anti-fascism untenable. The strategy is to make confrontational tactics ineffective on the one hand while criminalising the militants on the other. The expectation is that if militant tactics are abandoned the space will exist for a far-right agenda to flourish. Capitalist parties only regard government by decree to be inappropriate so long as it is able to maintain its position intact with the help of democracy. History shows that their commitment to even their own parliamentary democracy is not reliable.

10. COMMUNIST MENACE

For the first time since the 1930's the far right has surfaced nationally, and simultaneously, in many countries across the continent. Since the mid '80's the far-right has set the agenda in France, changed the German constitution, been a partner in government in Italy and secured 27% of the vote in national elections in Austria. While the parallels with the pre-war scenario are clear there is one vital difference. Communism, long recognised as fascism's natural enemy, which pre-war had the support of millions of working class people, no longer exists. The demise of the 'communist menace' has meant that there is now often no need for the visibly menacing counter threat. The battle for control of the streets need not be fought if control of the streets is not being contested. If there is no physical danger fascism does not need a private army. If the end can be achieved without the traditional means, there is no need for the rough stuff.

11. RADICAL/RESPECTABLE

And with a violent putsch being out of the question the fascists can appear both radical – and – respectable at the same time. They recognise that the radical/respectable combination is particularly vital in the political seduction of the middle classes. In addition, with 30 million unemployed in Europe and parliamentary democracy advertising an indifferent impotence, sections of the working class, not least the unemployed themselves, have already been, and will continue to be, susceptible to the far-right's pseudo radicalism.

12. CROSS-CLASS UNITY

The corner stone of the strategy favoured by the liberal anti-racists, the conservative Left and sections of the media is to demand legislative or direct action from the state to curb the propaganda or activities of right wing extremists. The logic of this strategy requires cross class unity and ultimately collaboration between anti-fascism and elements of the state.

13. THE PROPER CREDENTIALS

This approach results in the far-right's radical credentials being established in the minds of the very elements seeking social or political change not by a Goebbels-like figure but by the efforts and propaganda of the opposition.

Anti-fascism instead of being identified with a radical pro-working class position is publicly and indelibly identified with the status quo. The result is that the sections of society seeking change are literally forced into the arms of the far-right while the tactics demanded by the liberals of the state are thereafter employed with relish against all opponents of the status quo.

14. LESSER EVIL

In an effort to justify this collaboration with parliamentary parties that for reasons of electoral expediency show deference to the prejudices of the far-right, the conservative Left will quote the principle of 'the lesser evil'; which translated means a far-right agenda being implemented without the necessity of the far-right taking power. As fascism tends to be fuelled rather than exhausted by concessions, this cowardice allows fascism to creep up insidiously.

15. OPPONENTS ORGANISED

The first step toward clawing back the situation is to recognise that across Europe and beyond, all the opponents of militant anti-fascism are organised. The far-right, state security and the pacifists of the middle class Left network, separately, and occasionally together, work to sideline, criminalise, and ultimately crush the militant resistance. Though on the surface each is in pursuit of different objectives, it is undeniably the momentum of the far-right that is setting the political agenda to which the others are forced to respond.

16. ISOLATION

Up to now the only people not organised on European and International lines are the sections regularly condemned as extreme by all quarters. It is the political activists most like-

ly to face isolation in their own countries, the organisations with most to gain from international solidarity and cross-border collaboration, that lack at present even the rudiments of a network. The militants must also be organised.

17. MEANS TO AN END

In doing so we must recognise that militant anti-fascism is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In many countries the far right are winning the battle for the hearts and minds of the working class hands down. We can stop them but only by attempting to put the whole process into reverse.

18. A NEW LEFT

In the past anti-fascist fighters came from the large revolutionary and progressive organisations. They were communists, anarchists and socialists first. Their involvement with anti-fascism being a result of the Left in general surrendering the political initiative. Today the old Left is in meltdown, and we must learn from their mistakes and draw up new strategies. While historically, the anti-fascist movement was created by a coalition of the left, today it is evident that a new Left can only spring from within the forces of militant anti-fascism.

19. AMBITION

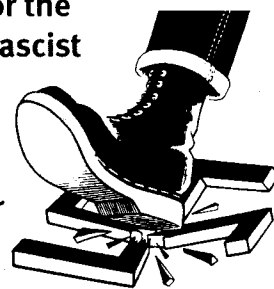
The ultimate guarantee against the far-right further penetrating the mainstream is not a strong anti-fascist movement but a strong politically independent working class movement. The far-right have re-invented themselves and we must do the same. To do so we must first match their ambition.

20. VICTORY

Ultimately the challenge for militant anti-fascism is not merely to destroy the fascist's influence in all areas of working class life. The real challenge, if our efforts are to culminate in victory, is to set out how to replace them there. For this to happen, it will be inadequate to simply refute nationalism's revolutionary challenge to the corruption and decadence of the political elite.

For militant anti-fascism to take root in working class communities it must retain the ability to out-violence the fascists, but in the battle for hearts and minds it must also cultivate the ambition to out radicalise them.

A website has been set up for the International Militant Anti-Fascist Network featuring English, French, German, Spanish and Italian versions of the Network Manifesto, member group pages and network information.



<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~imafn>

anti-fascist forum

information



research



analysis

Since the mid-70s the far-right in North America have been on a steady rise. Their growth has coincided with a decline in Leftist organizing and politics, leaving fascist organizations free to gain ground in areas where the Left no longer even exists. This modern liberal Left has not proven itself able, or in some cases willing, to over-shadow these moves. And judging from their past track record, they'll be even less prepared to combat the threat of fascism if it rallies the hearts and minds required for Round Two.

In more recent history, militant anti-fascists across North America have "exposed, opposed and confronted" fascists, forcing them into a retreat... but this retreat is only a temporary one. Now would be a bad time to over-estimate our successes. History has proven that fascism, if left unchallenged even for a minute, will continue to grow and spread, adapting new strategies and finding new recruits. The immediate goal of a coordinated anti-fascist initiative will depend upon both breaking these cycles of growth for the far-right and on setting the political agenda. To do this long-term, we need to build ourselves a strong foundation to work from.

An anti-fascist alternative has been growing for some time now. Although loosely based around the militant principles of confronting fascists physically and ideologically, and maintaining a non-reliance on the "cops and courts" solutions of the state, this alternative suffers most from being isolated and unheard. Having been bred from these conditions, Anti-Fascist Forum was initiated by a working group of anti-fascists in Canada and the US. Our aims as an information outlet include strengthening a network amongst anti-fascist groups and individuals, supporting militant actions, and contributing towards ending the isolation. In practical terms, we believe that the difference between being one step beyond or one step behind depends on the strength of an independent and militant anti-fascist movement.

Antifa Info-Bulletin

Antifa Info-Bulletin is an E-zine for researchers and activists fighting to stop the far-right and their corporate benefactors dead in their tracks. Our purpose is not simply to document the crimes perpetrated by a burgeoning fascist movement across North America, but to analyse the re-emergence of the racist right within the wider context of global capitalism and imperialism as it exists today.

Unlike those who portray reactionaries as "outsiders" beyond the pale of the "pluralist mainstream," our purpose is to document and expose the continuities existing among far-rightists, corporate and state elites: the ruling class and their armed fist, the military and police.

Fascism and its twin, clerical reaction, neither emerge from a void nor are they unconnected to dominant trends within the wider capitalist superstructure. For North Americans, the predominant expression of an emergent fascist movement, is racism and white supremacy. But it isn't the fascists alone who are responsible for stoking the flames of race war or genocidal moves towards "ethnic cleansing" and a white monoculture of shopping malls, suburban enclaves, and police state surveillance.

As the capitalist crisis deepens, dominant elites are extending the "Third World model" into the imperialist metropole itself. Attacks upon our standard of living, union busting, racist pogroms against immigrants, organized misogyny and homophobia, violent anti-Semitism and anti-Black racism are exploited by the ruling class as "wedge issues." The re-emergence of fascism within a score of European and North American countries can only be contextualized within the terminal crisis of bourgeois civilization itself.

Failure to comprehend the contradictory nature of fascism – its simultaneous character as an oppositional movement and violent prop for bourgeois society – inevitably leads to the failure by leftist forces to challenge and combat institutional racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, etc.

Antifa Info-Bulletin is not intended to serve merely as a catalogue of fascist horrors. Our purpose is to function as an information network that will inform the emerging antifascist movement so that a consistent, unrelenting, and principled extra-parliamentary opposition to capitalism and its pit-bulls – the fascists and clerical reactionaries – ultimately can emerge, so that the entire system of oppression and terror will be challenged and smashed!

To subscribe, send a message to:
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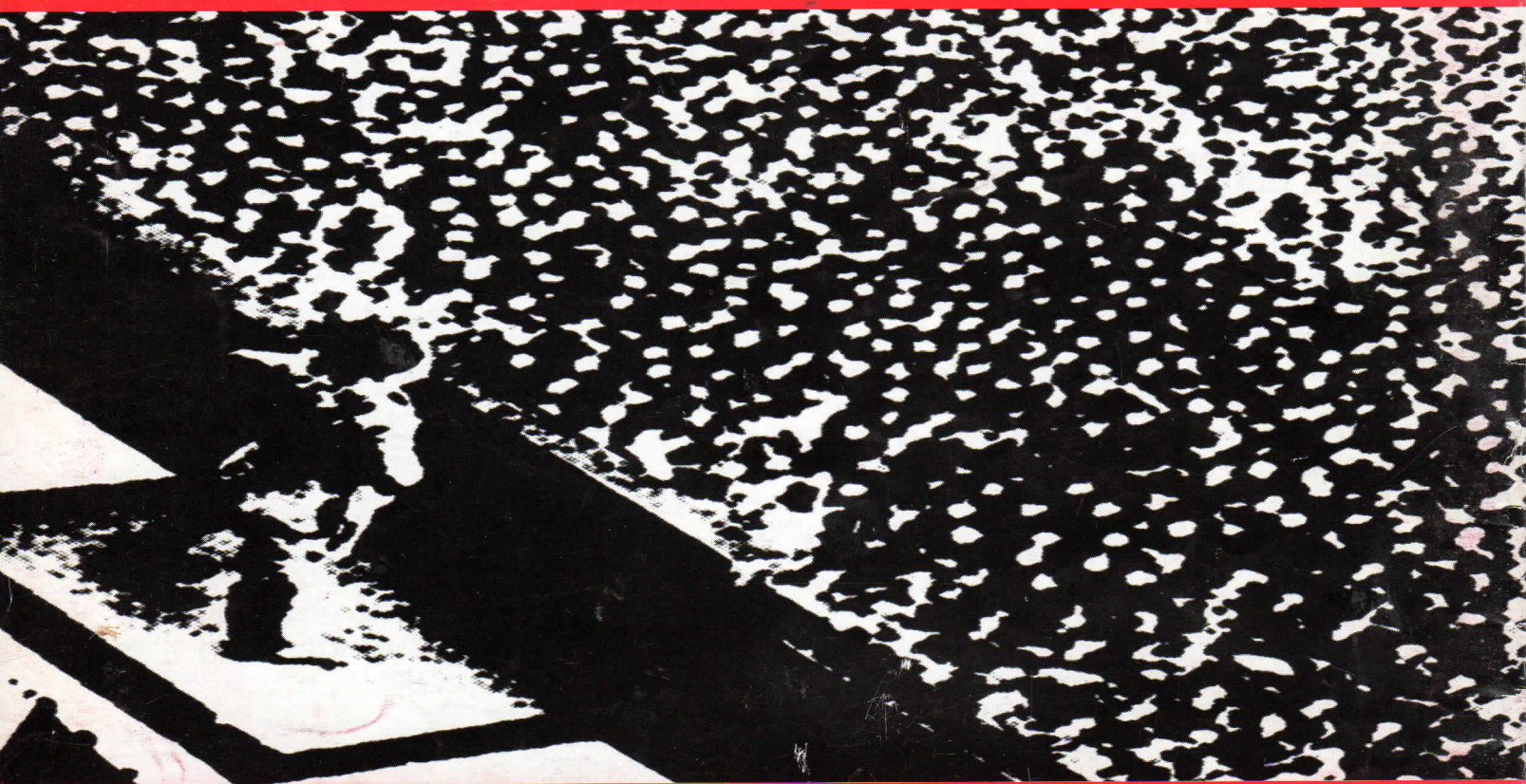
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FASCISM A political ideology based on the rejection of class struggle and bourgeois democracy, generally based on the premise that Nations are the most important form of human organization. Healthy Nations must be cohesive and hierarchical; thus the favoured economic programme of most fascists is corporatism. Nations must also retain their own integrity; thus most fascists are xenophobic, racist and jingoistic, fearing the loss of "national identity" through contamination by foreign influences. Lastly, the Nation's interests must be defended; ergo most fascists (and certainly all fascist States) have been highly militaristic, often considering professional killers in the army and police forces as the ideal fascist citizens.

NAZISM A form of fascism that understands the Nation in biological rather than political terms. According to Nazis, different genetic types exist in a state of constant warfare with each other, and only the most ruthless will survive. According to Nazis all that is good in humanity is embodied by the Aryan (Northern European) "race", and all that is bad comes from the Jewish "race". The term is indissoluble from the Germany's Nazi government, which put these ideas into practice by murdering millions of men, women and children whose only crime was to have the incorrect pedigree (i.e. by being Jewish, Gypsy, otherly abled, etc., or simply related to someone in one of these groups).